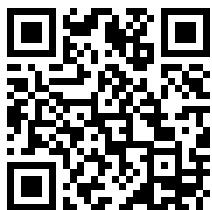


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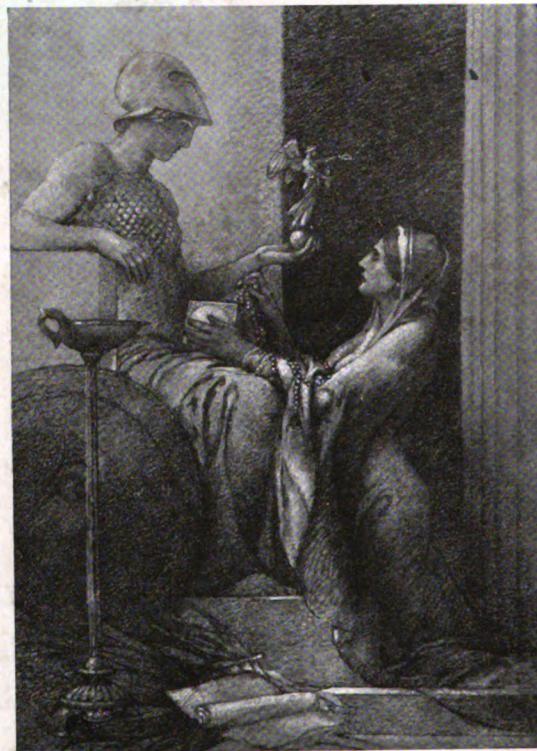
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# **MODERN PHILOLOGY**

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# Modern Philology

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NUMBER I

## THE "WEST MIDLAND" OF THE ROMANCES

In 1864 when Richard Morris produced the first edition of *Pearl*, *Cleanness* and *Patience*,<sup>1</sup> he devoted a section of his Preface to a study of the dialect of the poems. After discussing the Middle English dialects in general, Dr. Morris came to the conclusion that the poems under consideration were in a West Midland dialect and were probably written in Lancashire.<sup>2</sup> As he had already decided that *Syr Gawayn and the Grene Knyȝt* (*GGK*) was by the same author, it followed that this poem also was in the West Midland dialect. Similarly he considered the *Destruction of Troy* "a genuine West Midland production"<sup>3</sup> and assigned *William of Palerne* to Shropshire.<sup>4</sup>

This view of the dialect of *GGK* and many other alliterative poems has been accepted as correct down to the present; indeed the statement that *GGK* and many of its fellows were written in the West Midland is generally made without qualification. I need hardly give the long list of citations that could be made of editions of poems and books on literary history.<sup>5</sup> The present attitude is well summarized by Professor Wells, who assigns most of the early alliterative poems to the West Midland.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Early English Alliterative Poems*, E.E.T.S., Vol. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. xxiv–xxv.

<sup>3</sup> P. ix.

<sup>4</sup> P. xxiv, n. 5.

<sup>5</sup> E.g., Ten Brink, *Early English Literature* (Eng. trans.), p. 336; Schofield, *English Literature from the Norman Conquest to Chaucer*, p. 215; Brandl, Paul's *Grundriss*, II, 661; Osgood, *The Pearl*, p. xii; Bateson, *Patience*, p. 32; Gollancz, *Patience*, Preface, p. 4.

<sup>6</sup> *Manual*, pp. 240, 578. See also under each document.

With this unanimity of opinion among students of Middle English literature, it is surprising to find that the grammarians make practically no distinction between the East and the West Midland dialects. After mentioning the texts (e.g., Myrc's works) which certainly belong to the West Midland, Professor Morsbach says, that such documents as the *Alliterative Poems*, which were apparently written on the northern boundary of the West Midland, are of little value as evidences of dialect because they show mixture of Northern and (West) Midland elements.<sup>1</sup> More striking still is this note:

Grössere durchgreifende Unterschiede zwischen dem *westlichen* und *östlichen* mittellande giebt es kaum. Die endung -es für die 2 und 3 sing. praes. ind., die man für das nördliche westmittelland geltend gemacht hat, findet sich nur in solchen texten, die an der nördlichen grenze oder sogar noch im südlichen norden zu lokalisiieren sind (wie. z.b. die sog. *Alliterative Poems*). Uebrigens findet sich die betr. endung -es auch nicht selten im norden des *östlichen* mittellandes. Das *eigentliche westmittelland* (z.b. Shropshire) hat im praesens dieselbe flexions-endungen wie das östliche mittelland (vgl. Myrc and Audelay . . . . ) Dasselbe gilt für die 2 pers. sing. ind. des schwachen praeteritums wie *louedes, louedest*.<sup>2</sup>

Kaluza dismisses the entire matter with this statement:

Die früher übliche Scheidung zwischen Ost- und Westmittelländisch ist nach Morsbach (*Me. Gr.*, p. 15) nicht gerechtfertigt, da zwischen dem Osten und dem Westen des Mittellandes keinerlei durchgreifende dialektische Unterschiede bestehen.<sup>3</sup>

and he pays no attention to the peculiarities of the alliterative poems. It is interesting to note that John Trevisa, though in somewhat ambiguous terms, says that there was little difference between East and West Midland.<sup>4</sup>

What, then, is the basis of the prevailing opinion that the alliterative poems were written in the West Midland? To find this we must go back to Dr. Morris' discussion of the dialect of the poems in MS Nero A.X. I shall present his evidences one by one and criticize them.

<sup>1</sup> *Mittelenglische Grammatik*, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> *M. e. Gram.*, 15 anm. Morsbach implies some difference between the two dialects, but he indicates only some phonological peculiarities found more often in the west than in the east.

<sup>3</sup> *Hist. Gram.* (1906), I, 27.

<sup>4</sup> See Emerson's *Middle English Reader*, p. 225, ll. 19-21.

1. The inflection of the verb in the present indicative is: singular, first person -e, second person -es, third person -es, plural -en. "The peasantry of Cheshire and Lancashire still preserve the verbal inflexions which prevailed in the fourteenth century," and their forms are identical with those just given.<sup>1</sup>

The facts stated are correct, with the addition that in the poems the plural often has dropped the -n and sometimes appears as -es or -ez.<sup>2</sup> In the modern dialects, however, the inflexion given is found not only in Cheshire and Lancashire but in "most of the North Midland dialects," Southeastern East Midland, South Lancashire, Cheshire, Shropshire, Warwick, Herefordshire, etc.<sup>3</sup> The modern dialects are evidently of little use in this instance; they do not limit the forms to any definite locality.

Morris also refers to the forms of the present inflexion in "the ancient examples of the Lancashire dialect contained in Mr. Robson's *Metrical Romances*, the *Boke of Curtasye*, and *Liber Cure Cocorum*." But the ascription of these documents to Lancashire is based on little more than conjecture; and the last two are late (fifteenth century).

2. The ending -es in the second singular preterite. Morris finds this in *Sir Amadace* once and several times in the texts under consideration. Morsbach rejected this criterion. A few minutes' search in Emerson's *Middle English Reader* reveals *myhtes* (*Peterborough Chronicle*, p. 3, l. 25), *wuldes* (*Bestiary*, p. 19, l. 3), *higtes* (p. 17, l. 27).

3. "The use of the verb *schin* or *schun=schal*, shall." This is not quite correctly stated: the form is a plural, in function = *schulen*. This form Morris finds in *Cleanness*, *Liber Cure Cocorum*, and the *Awntyrs of Arthure*, and he says it is still preserved in Lancashire dialect as *schunnol* = "shall not." The modern dialect form seems rather a case of assimilation of l to n before "not," as in our "shan't," "won't." The Middle English form is a rare one, occurring

<sup>1</sup> *Early English Alliterative Poems*, p. xxiii.

<sup>2</sup> Schwahn, *Die Konjugation in Sir Gawayn und the Green Knight*, etc., pp. 6-7.

<sup>3</sup> Wright, *Dialect Grammar*, p. 296. In the plural one must distinguish between cases in which "the verb is immediately preceded or followed by its proper pronoun" (where the form -en or its descendant appears) and all other cases (where -es appears in these dialects).

in *GGK* once (l. 401) and in *Cleanness* twice (*schin* 1435, *schyn* 1810), but we find *schun* several times in the returns of the guilds of Lynne (Norfolk),<sup>1</sup> and *schone* and *schyn* (twice) in the *Boke of Curtasye*.<sup>2</sup>

4. Finally, Morris considers the use of *hit* as a genitive an evidence because it is found in the romances edited by Robson and in the present Lancashire dialect.<sup>3</sup> This does seem to be a grammatical peculiarity special to these texts, *De Erkenwalde* and the *Auntyrs of Arthure* in the fourteenth century. At any rate the *New English Dictionary* gives no other citations for so early a date. Later, however, it came to be very common, and is familiar to Shaksperean scholars. In the modern dialects it is found over the north of England.<sup>4</sup> Thus, although the appearance of this use is striking, it does not associate the texts with any locality.

These four points comprise Morris' entire proof. From the foregoing survey of them it must be apparent that they are of no value for localizing texts. The associations with modern dialect here given are useless as evidence of Middle English grammar. Aside from those, Morris has shown some resemblances between these texts and other documents whose provenience is not known. His first criterion, the present inflection of the verb, is important, but the same forms are found elsewhere. The last two are sound, but considering how rarely they occur in these texts we must recognize that they may be due to a scribe, and in any case they do not connect the poems with any surely Western document.

In 1867 Skeat in discussing the dialect of *William of Palerne*, said that the forms were "mainly West Midland."<sup>5</sup> He added, however: "The real difficulty consists in this, that it is hard to

<sup>1</sup> Smith, *English Guilds*, E.E.T.S., pp. 67, 109.

<sup>2</sup> *Babees Boke*, E.E.T.S.; pp. 318, 319.

<sup>3</sup> Morris' remark, "Nothing is more common in the present poems than the use of *hit* as a genitive," is hardly true. It occurs twice in *Patience*, four times in *Pearl* (see Osgood's glossary), seven times in *Cleanness* (some doubtful—ll. 264, 956, 1016, 1021, 1031, 1480, 1735), and not at all in *GGK*.

<sup>4</sup> Wright, *Dialect Grammar*, p. 275: North Country. Lan. Chs. Der. Not. Lin. Lei. Nhp.

<sup>5</sup> Introduction to *William of Palerne*, E.E.T.S., E.S., Vol. I, pp. xi-xli. He states that Madden referred it to Gloucestershire (see the same Introduction, pp. xxi-xxii. Madden adds the qualification, "although the orthography by no means betrays that decided Western pronunciation which characterizes the poems ascribed to Robert of Gloucester") and Morris to Shropshire. See above, p. 1.

account for the use of the Northumbrian plural-ending -es at a place situated so far to the South."

How firmly fixed the ascription to the West Midland had become is indicated by the fact that in the same year the editor of *Chevalere Asigne* quotes Morris as follows: "The Dialect [of *Chevalere Asigne*] in its *present form* is East Midland. But as we do not find [other] East Midland writers adopting alliterative measures in the 14th century, I am inclined to think that the original English text was written in the N. or N.W. of England."<sup>1</sup>

In 1871 Skeat in his preface to *Joseph of Arimathie* says that his statement (made in his *Essay on Alliterative Poetry*) that the best examples of alliterative verse are found in Northern and Western dialects "holds true in the present instance, the southern forms in the poem being due to a southern scribe." He states categorically that the poem was originally in a West Midland dialect.<sup>2</sup>

The editors of *The Destruction of Troy* regarded the poem as originally Northern but altered by a West Midland scribe.<sup>3</sup> In 1876 Trautmann accepted the West Midland location for *GGK*.<sup>4</sup> Horstmann in his prefatory note to *De Erkenwalde* (1881) said: "Die Legende gehört zu der Gruppe der westnördlichen alliterierenden . . . Dichtungen der 2. Hälfte des 14. Jdts wie *Troy Book*, *Morte Arthur*, *Gawayne*," etc.<sup>5</sup>

It will be noticed that none of the above-mentioned scholars gives any evidence connecting the poems with the west. They evidently assume that Morris' location of the Gawayne group was correct and merely attach their poems to that group. Similarly in 1885 Fick adds nothing new. He begins thus: "Der Dialect der P. [=Pearl] war ursprünglich im Grossen und Ganzen ein rein westmittelländischer, der dem nördlichen Sprachgebiet jedoch nicht allzu fern stand."<sup>6</sup> He states the endings found in the present indicative, saying that they are found both in the North and in the

<sup>1</sup> E.E.T.S., E.S., Vol. VI, p. xvii.

<sup>2</sup> E.E.T.S., Vol. 44, p. xi. Of course that part of Skeat's statement (and also of Morris' just cited) which connects alliterative poetry with the North is correct.

<sup>3</sup> E.E.T.S., Vol. 56, p. lv.

<sup>4</sup> Über Verfasser u. Entstehungszeit einiger allit. Gedichte, etc., p. 5.

<sup>5</sup> Altenglische Legenden, N.F., p. 206.

<sup>6</sup> Zur me. Gedicht von der Perle, p. 7.

West Midland. He regards the present participle, "welches ausschliesslich -ande lautet,"<sup>1</sup> as evidence of strong Northern influence. He gives other instances of Northern influence, and some of Southern, concluding that the latter are due to a scribe.

It seems not worth while to cite other dissertations on the language of these pieces and similar studies which have assumed the correctness of Morris' view.<sup>2</sup> Let us proceed to the articles which have made an effort with new evidence to fix the dialect of these poems. Dr. Richard Jordan in his attempt on the basis of various monographs on single documents to establish the boundaries of the Middle English dialects locates *GGK* and the *Alliterative Poems* in the Northwest Midland—but not beyond Lancashire because of the rimes of *ō* < O.E. *a*.<sup>3</sup> His evidence, however, is slight. "Charakteristisch für das Westl. Mittelland," he says, "ist das *u*, namentlich in *burd bryd*,"<sup>4</sup> and *u* < O.E. *eo*; similarly *o* (< O.E. *a*) before *n* is more common in the West. There is nothing fixed in any of these criteria, since all those peculiarities can be found, to some extent at least, everywhere in the South and Midland, and the group of peculiarities as a whole is not found in any document actually localized in the West.

An attempt at a more fundamental means of localizing texts was made in 1913 by Professor Wyld.<sup>5</sup> He collected from charters and other contemporary documents the spellings of place-names in which appear O.E. *y* < *ü* before *i* or *j*, e. g., *brycg*, *hyll*. His results show that O.E. *y* appears as *u* or *i* in all the Midland counties,<sup>6</sup> as far north as Lancashire and Yorkshire, as far south as Herefordshire and Oxfordshire. Most of these counties also show a sprinkling

<sup>1</sup> P. 8. The statement is not strictly true; cf. *schymeryng* in l. 80, and *sykyng* in l. 1175.

<sup>2</sup> Or even such statements as that of Skeat in his *English Dialects* (1911), pp. 79–81. Almost every work on Middle English language, whether of a general character or a monograph on an individual document or problem, has assumed the correctness of this localization and referred to "West Midland." The cumulation of such statements, however, proves nothing.

<sup>3</sup> *Ger. Rom. Mon.*, II, 130. He refers to Morsbach, paragraph 135, A.4. Morsbach discusses these documents, however, in paragraph 135, A9, there concluding that *a* was the native form for the author. For comment on this view, see below, p. 21, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> P. 130, n. 3.

<sup>5</sup> *Englische Studien*, XLVII, 1 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Excepting Notts, Lincoln, Rutland, Cambridge, Suffolk, and Essex.

of *e* spellings. These various spellings appear in different proportions in the different counties. Professor Wyld regards the proportions as significant and assigns texts to the counties whose proportion of *i* spellings coincides most nearly with that exhibited in the texts.

The idea of using original charters and documents capable of localization is an improvement over Pogatscher's method in studying the *æ-ē* boundary in Old English.<sup>1</sup> But Professor Wyld's use of these materials does not awaken confidence. He does not, for example, consider the probability that scribes had not always lived in places in which they wrote, or that they intentionally followed a spelling standard derived from some place outside the county. To how considerable a degree scribes could mix their dialectal forms even in Old English has been shown definitely by Professor W. F. Bryan.<sup>2</sup>

Likewise, Wyld's assignment of individual texts is unconvincing. If his materials showed that either *i* or *u* appeared practically to the exclusion of the other in a given territory, we could feel sure that a text having that spelling belonged to that territory (or at least that one of its scribes did). But when we find merely proportions—so many more *u*'s than *i*'s here, not so many *u*'s there, etc.—we can feel no confidence. If the poet used both *u* and *i*, whim or chance might cause him to use a larger percentage of one than his county place-names show. Furthermore, by the time that his poem has been copied a few times his own percentage of *u*'s or *i*'s will in all likelihood be entirely altered by the scribes.

Moreover, there is nothing stable in such proportions. Some years ago, at the suggestion of Professor Morsbach, I tried to check up Pogatscher's results for the *æ-ē* boundary by early deeds and other documents. I found, of course, that the same town was called Stratford or Stretford, Stratton or Stretton, and the proportion of spellings varied with each new set of documents. For a time the spelling of the name of a given place would show a certain proportion, but the spellings of a new set of documents would alter it decidedly. Such fluctuating results, it seems to me, are of little value, if any, in determining the provenience of documents.

<sup>1</sup> *Anglia*, XXIII, 302. See the criticism by O. Ritter, *Anglia*, XXXVII, 269.

<sup>2</sup> See his *Studies in the Dialects of the Kentish Charters*, etc., especially Parts II and III.

Finally, Professor Wyld is unable to make his results agree with the facts which localize a few of our texts. For example, he says: "The later Myrc and Audelay might be placed, the former in Lancs, the latter in Derbyshire, if we take the proportion of *u*- to *i*- forms as a test. . . . If we place M and A in Shropshire, the number of *i*- forms which they show is more difficult to explain"—a remarkable statement, considering the fact that the manuscript of the *Festial* calls Myrc a canon of Lulshull, Shropshire, and that this is confirmed by his writing of Alkmund, patron of Lulshull!<sup>1</sup> Audelay likewise is said to have been chaplain in the cloister of Haghman, Shropshire. Similarly Wyld's place-name results do not agree with the exterior evidence as to *St. Editha*. He says: "The proportion of *i*'s is far larger than in the Pl. N. forms, but this may no doubt be accounted for, either by the spread of the Devonshire unrounded type,"<sup>2</sup> etc. Obviously if we must seek explanations, the localization according to his results can be of little value. His assignment of the *Alliterative Poems* and *William of Palerne* to Derby does not even agree with his facts. The Derby place-names show twice as many *u* spellings as *i* spellings; the *Alliterative Poems* show twice as many *i* as *u* spellings!<sup>3</sup>

Thus Professor Wyld's study (the only real attempt to connect the poems with a definite locality since Dr. Morris') fails. The

<sup>1</sup> See Wells, *Manual*, p. 301.

<sup>2</sup> P. 146.

<sup>3</sup> Derby place-names, 256 *u*: 121 *i*. *Alliterative Poems*: different words, 19 *u*: 37 *i* (*y*); total occurrences, 38 *u*: 111 *i* (*y*). The last set of figures is not complete, for Mr. Wyld does not refer to all instances of *i* spelling but puts "etc." after giving a considerable number of spellings. He does give all *u* spellings. (At least there is no "etc." used in them.)

As to *William of Palerne* the reader should recall the definite interior evidence for Gloucester.

Professor Wyld does not locate *GGK*. He says: "I did not include Piers Plowman, or the Brut, as the dialect of these texts differs from the other W. Midl. texts in having a considerable number of *y* for the specifically W.S. *y*, earlier *ie* (from *æi*-*i*). For the same reason I did not include Gawain; the dialect is distinctly different from that of the Alliterative Poems." I am not sure whether he means that *GGK* is excluded for the same reason as *Piers the Plowman* and *Brut* or for other dialectal reasons. Knigge's careful study did not show more *y*'s corresponding to W.S. *y* (-*ie*) in *GGK* than in the *Alliterative Poems*, and the proportion of *i*'s, *u*'s, and *e*'s from *y* = *u*! *i*, *j*, is the same in *GGK* as in them. There are of course dialectic differences between *GGK* and the *Alliterative Poems*, or individual members of that group (some pointed out by Knigge, some not), but I have found none which seem to me sure indication of difference in dialect of the authors. In his work on "Guttural Sounds in English" (*Trans. Phil. Soc. London*, XXXI, 163-64) Professor Wyld refers to *GGK* as "North 1366," to the *Alliterative Poems* as "Lanca. 1360." It is to be hoped that he will publish his evidence on this point soon.

poems may be from the West Midland, but no significant evidence has yet been given to prove that location.<sup>1</sup> When we stop to consider the facts, we must be astonished that the opinion of West Midland location for these documents has been so long unchallenged, especially when we observe that these texts do not resemble the documents whose provenience in the West is established by definite evidence. The only documents that we can assign through direct evidence to the West Midland are Myrc's and Audelay's works and *William of Palerne*. *The Earliest Complete English Prose Psalter*, which in language resembles Myrc and Audelay, not the *Alliterative Poems*, is generally ascribed to that locality on linguistic evidence.<sup>2</sup> Of these Morsbach practically rejects *William of Palerne* because of its dialect mixture.<sup>3</sup> Comparison of Myrc and Audelay with the alliterative poems shows marked differences in dialect. To use one of the most obvious of criteria, the present inflection of the verb, we find in Myrc (and in the *Psalter*) -e, -est, eth, e(n). Audelay has the same forms, and in addition some second and third singulars in -es. He is later, of course, and perhaps his occasional use of those forms is evidence of the movement which spread them widely over the modern Midland district. This is all that we know about the present inflection in the West Midland; the forms are the same as those in the East.<sup>4</sup> Yet in these poems the forms in -es have been regarded as typically West Midland!

Why, then, has this localization lasted so long? Its acceptance has probably depended not upon linguistic evidence but upon other facts. These poems are in meter and general appearance (vocabulary, spelling, etc.) extremely unlike the works of Chaucer or Robert of Brunne, Lazamon, or any of the prose writers whose provenience we know. Indeed their language seems to correspond to no known dialect. Hence the scholar tends to place them at some spot where

<sup>1</sup> Boerner has made the suggestion that the feminine pronoun *ho* is a mark of West Midland. It is a fact that in the modern dialect of the West Midland the feminine pronoun is *ə*. See Boerner, *Die Sprache Robert Manings von Brunne*, pp. 216-17, and Wright, *Dialect Grammar*, p. 273. But other Middle English documents have forms which, though spelt somewhat differently, may equal *ho*. See *New English Dictionary*. This is really the best evidence of West Midland localization yet given, but one detail based wholly on modern dialect can hardly be convincing.

<sup>2</sup> Morsbach, *M. & G.*, p. 9; Bilbring's edition of the *Psalter*, E.E.T.S.

<sup>3</sup> See also Kaluza, *Engl. St.*, X, 294.

<sup>4</sup> See the quotation from Morsbach above, p. 2.

we have no dialectal remains. We have documents from the center and east of North England, from East Midland, and various parts of the South, but nothing from the West country north of Shropshire and Herefordshire. As the poems certainly possess Northern features, it seems not illogical to locate them in the Northwest. Moreover, such an arrangement places nearly the whole body of alliterative verse in a corner of England, leaving *Piers the Plowman* for a neighboring county and a few scattered examples elsewhere. The advantage of this grouping is that it agrees with a subconscious view that a movement or "school" was responsible for the revival of alliterative verse. Finally, the scenery of some of the poems suggests a western location. This is particularly true of the *Auntyrs of Arthure*, but it should be noted that the location there is the northern part of Cumberland. It is certainly clear that the author knew Cumberland and the southwestern part of Scotland.<sup>1</sup> For this reason, Wells says it was probably composed near Carlisle,<sup>2</sup> but the customary opinion is that it was produced in Lancashire.<sup>3</sup> The trouble with the former statement, from the point of view of the dialect scholar, is that the language of the poem does not seem so Northern as this localization would imply.

Similarly, the description of Gawain's winter journey is generally connected with the West country, but there is nothing surely local in it until l. 697. Then we are told that he went into North Wales, holding Anglesey upon his left and faring

ouer þe fordeȝ by þe for-londeȝ  
Ouer at þe Holy-Hede, til he hade eft bonk  
In þe wyldernesse of Wyrale.

Professor Chambers has pointed out the impossibility of this feat and suggested that "Holy-Hede" is a scribal mistake for Holy Well.<sup>4</sup> That is entirely reasonable, but on the other hand the author may have made the mistake. If he did, of course he shows the vagueness of his knowledge of the West. If he did not, he

<sup>1</sup> See Robson's *Three Metrical Romances*, Camden Society, pp. xiv-xvi.

<sup>2</sup> *Manual*, p. 61.

<sup>3</sup> See the quotation from Morris above, p. 4, and Schofield, *English Literature from the Norman Conquest to Chaucer*, p. 218. Mr. Bradley has a theory that "the local knowledge of Cumberland which appears in the *Auntyrs* may be due" to an adapter, who turned the poem from West Midland into Northern (*Athenaeum*, August 12, 1901).

<sup>4</sup> *Modern Language Review*, II (1906-7), 167.

knew the West, but that is no proof that he wrote there. In view of the weakness of even the last-mentioned type of evidence, it is apparent that the localization in the West is not justified. We ought, therefore, to consider the question as still open and look at the facts in an unprejudiced way.

In the pages that follow I am not attempting to locate *GGK* and the other poems with any definiteness as Morris, Jordan, and Wyld have tried to do, because with our present knowledge of Middle English dialects, I do not believe it possible to do so.<sup>1</sup> It is time for us to realize that exact location of Middle English documents on linguistic grounds only is impossible. As Professor Kittredge says:

For (may one dare to whisper it?) Middle English dialectology is not by any means reducible, in the present state of our knowledge, to any such hard and fast scheme as one might suppose from the confident little treatises that appear from time to time from aspirants for academic honours. There has been too much cocksureness in assigning this, that, or the other document to the southwest corner of the northeast Midland district, or in declaring that a writer must have been born five or six miles from Lichfield and passed some of his maturer years in the outskirts of Warwick . . . .<sup>2</sup>

When one considers the small number of documents we possess that can be located with certainty, and the vast spaces of country about whose speech we know nothing, one must recognize the folly of attempts at exact localization. The problem is still more complicated by the fact that our best records of the speech of particular places show remarkable dialectal mixture. Probably the dialect of any county of fourteenth-century England was much more mixed than we commonly suppose. Distances were small; travel on the part of pilgrims and merchants extensive; the countryman attended markets and fairs; craftsmen might move to places where there was special demand for their services; the friars and other migratory ecclesiastics were constantly going and coming. Documents which most nearly express the actual speech of localities and have probably suffered least alteration by scribes, like the reports of the Norfolk guilds and even at a much earlier time the proclamation of Henry III,

<sup>1</sup> Of course we can classify documents loosely as Northern, Midland, or Southern. I mean that in most cases we cannot ascribe a work to a particular locality in one of those districts.

<sup>2</sup> *Congress of Arts and Sciences* III (1906), 226.

show extraordinary dialect mixture. Furthermore, it is at present usually impossible to separate the dialect of scribes from that of authors. Finally, in the case of the alliterative poems we have additional complication: we are dealing with sophisticated authors, who read French romances and Latin prose, knew courtly customs, certainly used archaic words and probably old-fashioned forms. Some of these men, perhaps most of them, knew London (e.g., the authors of *Winner and Waster*, *Piers the Plowman*). *De Erkenwalde* celebrates a London saint. The writers of these poems preferred not to use the speech of the capital, but instead used a language which had for its basis perhaps some particular dialect (which was possibly traditionally associated with alliterative verse), altering it probably in the direction of their own native dialect. So, for instance, the extraordinary mixture of *William of Palerne* may be due to the attempt of a Southern man to use a Northern dialect.<sup>1</sup>

Considering all these facts, we must be satisfied with vague results—certainly a better thing than to cheat ourselves by pretending to know more than we actually do. My aim throughout the remainder of this article, therefore, will be merely to examine the most clearly substantiated data that we have on the dialects, to note correspondences with the linguistic facts of *GGK*, and to determine what conclusion can be reached on a basis of real fact.

Now the general features of the dialect of *GGK* and the *Alliterative Poems* (to which I am from this point limiting myself) are: (1) inflections in the main like those we find in the North, (2) phonology largely Midland. By (1) I mean, for example, the present inflection of the verb,<sup>2</sup> the present participle ending in *-ande*, the lack of *y-* in the past participles or other verbal forms, the lack of many weak nouns.<sup>3</sup> As to (2), one needs only read a bit of Rolle's prose to see the differences in phonology. O.E. *a* in most cases is written *o* and it is rimed with lengthened short *o*;<sup>4</sup> in the verb *to be*,

<sup>1</sup> Merely a suggestion, of course. The mixture may be due to scribal alterations.

<sup>2</sup> For this see p. 3 above.

<sup>3</sup> The uncertainty of final *-e* is in a way a matter of inflection as well as of phonology; the *-e* is established in *GGK*, l. 415, for *sope*: to *þe*, and in ll. 2353, 2355. But compare l. 278 to *fyst*, riming with *knyȝt*, 1766; *gode* (plural) riming with *stod* (singular).

<sup>4</sup> Knigge presents the facts well (*Die Sprache des Dichters vom Sir Gawain*, etc., pp. 31-32). Within the line he finds "wir haben weniger *a*-Formen als wir nach den Reimen hätten erwarten können," and concludes therefore that the scribe was from

*are* appears instead of *ere*, *is* instead of *es*. As noun or verb ending we have *-es*, not *is* or *ys*; we find *schal* instead of *sal*, etc. There are other peculiarities, of course, especially the *-y-* of second weak and French verbs; but in the main the distinction holds true.

The question then becomes: Can we find a mixture of Northern and Midland similar to the one found in *GGK* in any definitely localized document? Such a mixture does in fact occur in the North Midland generally. So far as one can judge from the few texts which state definitely their location, it occurs all along the border between the Northern and Midland dialects.<sup>1</sup>

Among the most valuable of the documents we have are the returns of the Norfolk guilds. These have certain unique advantages: they are dated definitely in 1389; they are original documents, uncopied; they were presumably drawn up by unsophisticated writers whose effort was simply to express themselves. These reports show a remarkable variety of forms. The present participle for example ends in *-and(e)*, *end(e)*, *-yng(e)*.<sup>2</sup> The first and second person singular present indicative are not found. The third person ends in *-th(e)*, *tȝ*, *t*, *ȝ*, and *s*.<sup>3</sup> Of these *s* is decidedly less frequent than the others (all of which mean *th*), but in some of the reports it is found almost exclusively. The plural present

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a more Southern locality than the poet. This seems to me an unfounded judgment. The poet certainly wrote in a locality not far from Northern dialect speakers. He knew the pronunciation *mare* as well as *more*, and when he found it convenient used the former. Arguments based on proportions are valueless. See Professor Osgood's edition of *Pearl*, pp. xii, xiii. A sufficient explanation of the smaller number of *a*'s within the line would be that the author had no need to use them there.

Morsbach, however, says: "In der heimat des dichters *a* gegolten hat" (*M. e. Gram.*, paragraph 135, A9). His judgment is based on the forms *tōcs* (*Pearl*, l. 513), and *tō* (*GGK*, l. 1671) not in rime. Osgood derives the former from O.E. *īson* (not, as Morsbach does, from *tacan*); the same etymology will serve for *GGK*, l. 1671, and perhaps for the more difficult *tōne* *GGK*, l. 2159 (riming with *one* and *grone*) which Morsbach seems not to have noticed, though he discusses the same form in *Ipomadon A* in the same paragraph.

<sup>1</sup> As long ago as 1893, Brandl recognized the existence of such a mixed dialect (*Paul's Grundriss*, II, 612). He does not, of course, associate the alliterative romances with this district.

<sup>2</sup> E. Schultz: *Die Sprache der "English Guilds,"* pp. 36, 38. On the spread of *-ande* in the East Midland see Dibbelius, *Anglia*, XXIV, 255. He finds it in Capgrave, a Suffolk will of 1482, Norfolk documents, and the Paston Letters.

<sup>3</sup> Not mentioned by Schultz, but see *entreȝ*, *English Guilds*, E.E.T.S., p. 54. For the other forms see Schultz, pp. 37, 39. Schultz shows on pp. 27-28 that *ȝ* in these endings stands for *p*. It must be noticed, however, that at least once *ȝ* is used for *s* in the plural noun *Couenantȝ*, (*English Guilds*, E.E.T.S., p. 109). Perhaps the form *entreȝ* cited above stands for *entres*.

indicative ends in *-en*, or *-e*, *-th*, *iȝ*, or *s*, the first two being much the most frequent.<sup>1</sup>

One French verb, *fail*, shows forms in *i* like those found occasionally in the *Alliterative Poems* and *GGK*.<sup>2</sup> *Schal*, not *sal*, is the common form. Of the pronouns, the nominative singular feminine does not occur. The plural nominative is generally *þei*, but sometimes *he*, genitive plural *here*, dative plural *hem* (Schultz, p. 33).

The phonology is prevailingly Midland. O.E. *ā* > *ō* (Schultz, p. 13), *y* > *i* (*y*), seldom *e*, *u* (in *furst*, *frust*) (Schultz, p. 11), *h* is weak, and in the combination *hw* (frequently written *qu*) it seems to have been silent, as in the *Alliterative Poems* (Schultz, p. 25).

In Norfolk, then, we have in general Midland phonology and mixed Midland and Northern verbal endings. There is too large a Midland element in these endings to make it likely that *GGK* was written in Norfolk, and details of phonology like the *u* spellings for O.E. *y* do not agree. It is to be noted, however, that a literary artist might possibly elect to use the Northern endings in this mixture in order to have his language more unified or because he found those endings in use in other poems; most of the grammatical peculiarities of *GGK* and the *Alliterative Poems* existed in Norfolk ready to hand.<sup>3</sup>

Robert Manning, who wrote his first work early in the fourteenth century, can be localized in Lincolnshire. Of course no autograph manuscript of his is extant, and, as Boerner has shown, the two main works in their present form display dialect differences. These may be due, as Boerner thinks, to alterations in Robert's own speech<sup>4</sup> or to changes made by scribes. The present participle ends in *-ing* (-*yng*) and *-and* in the proportion of 3:1. The second singular present indicative within the line and in self-rime ends in *-est* (-*yst*). In rime it is found only in a few cases; there *-es* (*ys*) occurs almost always ("fest stets").<sup>5</sup> For the third singular *-es* is without excep-

<sup>1</sup> Schultz, *op. cit.*, pp. 37, 39. For the endings of *GGK* see p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> E.E.T.S., pp. 30, 43, 72, 97, 103.

<sup>3</sup> I have not considered it necessary to discuss Furnivall's criteria for Norfolk dialect (*The Macro Plays*, E.E.T.S., p. xxxv), as they apply to the fifteenth century. The use of *s* for *sh* is purely scribal; *qu* for *wh* appears in the *Alliterative Poems*; *w* is written for *s* in *Pearl*.

<sup>4</sup> *Die Sprache Robert Mannings of Brunne, etc.*, p. 11.

<sup>5</sup> Boerner, p. 221.

tion established in rime, but the scribe of *Handlyng Synne* has frequently substituted *-eth* for it.<sup>1</sup> The plural ends in *-e*, *-en*, *-es*, or *ys*, the last two rarely. In one case the *-i* of the O.E. second weak verbs is retained and established by rime, *wanye* (Boerner, p. 218). Among the pronouns *sche* is established by rime, but *scho* also occurs within the line. In the nominative plural *bei* appears in rime, *ha* occasionally within the line. In the dative *hem* is usual, but *hom* occurs once in rime (Boerner, pp. 216-17) O.E. *ā* appears both as *o* and *a* (Boerner, p. 210.)

Though *Havelok* has not been so certainly located as the documents hitherto considered and its manuscript gives a corrupt text, it presumably comes from Lincoln. Its verbal forms agree with Robert Manning's, e.g., though *-est*, *eb* occur, *-es* is more common in both cases and is established by rime. The most common present participle ending, however, is *-inde*.<sup>2</sup>

The *Towneley Plays*, if they are derived from Wakefield, ought also to be considered. Their language seems never to have been thoroughly studied. A cursory reading, however, shows most of the peculiarities we have noticed: present participle in *-and*; second and third singular present indicative in *-es*, *-ys*, *-is*; the plural generally without ending but occasionally like the singular; O.E. *ā>ō* generally, but sometimes appears as *a*.

From these evidences it is clear that in the North Midland we find a verbal flexion similar to that in *GGK* and the *Alliterative Poems*, and in general a Midland phonology with occasional Northern admixture, as in those poems. Of course there are plenty of differences in detail, and it is not suggested that the poems were written in exactly the same place as any of the documents just discussed. Indeed, the resemblances are only in certain larger features and cannot be traced in all fine details, and my purpose in showing them is merely to make clear that a mixture of Northern and Midland, in some respects like that of the romances, does occur on the border between those dialects. The reader accustomed to the thorough and exact analyses of monographs on language may be shocked by the use of such rough criteria. But he should remember that

<sup>1</sup> Boerner, p. 223.

<sup>2</sup> See Skeat's edition, 1902, pp. xx-xxiii.

no such similarities between the *Alliterative Poems* and any Western texts have ever been shown. Until some evidence which does connect with the West is produced, we are therefore justified only in saying that these are North Midland documents. All along the border between the North and the Midland there were doubtless many speech districts showing variant mixture. For most of these we have no evidence; but we do know that several of them show general resemblances to the language of *GGK* and the *Alliterative Poems*, and it is reasonable to suppose that in one of them the poems were written. That spot may have been in the Northwest Midland (though we know nothing whatever of speech conditions there), but it may as well have been in the North Central or Northeast Midland. It should be noted in this connection that of the alliterative poetry which is localized (e.g., the York plays and *Rolle*) most is Northern. Finally, the conclusion that the North was the field of alliterative poetry agrees with the implication in Chaucer's Parson's remark. He did not say he was an Eastern man, but—

I am a *southren* man,  
I kan not geeste "rum, ram, ruf" by lettre.<sup>1</sup>

These, then, are the results of the foregoing study: (1) There is no good evidence to connect alliterative romances with the West; their language should not be called *West Midland*; and (2) until new facts are found the only safe statement of the location of these poems is that they were probably written in some place which possessed a mixed Northern and Midland dialect.

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<sup>1</sup> As to the other alliterative romances, I see no reason why we should not accept the plain indication that *William of Palerne* was written in Gloucester. The inconsistent conglomeration of dialect forms in it may be due: (1) to scribes; or (2) to the author's imitation of the more Northerly dialect which may have been found in romances no longer extant. If we could be sure that scribes have not greatly altered the language of the other documents, we might locate *Alexander A* and *B* with *William*, or in some neighboring county. *The Awntyrs of Arthure* somewhere north of the place in which the poems in *Nero AX* were written, and *The Destruction of Troy*, *The Wars of Alexander*, and *Morte Arthure* still further north. But that is decidedly speculative. In any case the bulk of alliterative verse (aside from *Piers the Plowman*) seems to belong in the North and North Midland, with only occasional pieces like *William of Palerne* and the *Chevalere Assigne* deriving from Southern localities.

## FROM *LE MISANTHROPE* TO *LE MALADE IMAGINAIRE*

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In a former paper,<sup>1</sup> a study of the significance of those verses of *Don Garcie* which Molière utilized in *le Misanthrope* led to an investigation of the intervening plays with reference to their subjective elements, particularly allusions to the dramatist's wife and their domestic affairs. There appeared to be evidence of a change of attitude on the part of the poet from the period of *Don Garcie*, in which the heroine is depicted as innocent and sympathetic, to that of *le Misanthrope*, in which the heroine, in a similar situation, is proven guilty of faithlessness and deceit. Intervening plays seemed to offer traces of a gradual change, corresponding, in a way, to the vicissitudes of the author's home life. The conclusion was reached that while such subjective evidence could not be decisive, it offered strong support to the theory that in Célimène, Molière was representing some characteristics of Armande, and that Alceste voiced the poet's poignant jealousy and disappointment, while other plays indicated similar subjective influence. The question at once arose as to whether a study of the subsequent plays would bear out these conclusions. Such an investigation is here attempted.

The plays have been taken up chronologically. Every endeavor has been made to be impartial, to be governed by the general spirit of the play, and by the situations or characters as a whole, though often it is merely some single trait or incident which appears illuminating.

In *le Médecin malgré lui* (August 6, 1666) which immediately follows *le Misanthrope*, the relations between Sganarelle and Martine are so far from amiable that the worthy couple come to blows, and Martine would take vengeance on her husband's honor—if she thought he would feel it. Jacqueline is on about the same terms with Lucas, who is justly annoyed by the attentions Sganarelle pays to Jacqueline. The latter, however, complains of her husband's jealousy and would not object to a good chance to "get even"

<sup>1</sup> "Don Garcie and *le Misanthrope*," *Modern Philology*, XVI, 129 ff.

with him. Apart from this very cynical view of conjugal felicity, there appears to be nothing which might reasonably be interpreted as an allusion to the poet's unhappy married life.

The two acts of the unfinished pastoral, *Mélicerie* (December, 1666) follow more nearly the conventional form of this genre than do Molière's other plays, and apparently contain no reference to the author's domestic affairs. The tone is that of innocent, confiding young love. The only discordant note is the warning advice left by Mélicerie's mother, before her death:

Ma fille, songe à toi; l'amour aux jeunes cœurs  
Se présente toujours entouré de douceurs.  
D'abord il n'offre aux yeux que choses agréables;  
Mais il traîne après lui des troubles effroyables;  
Et si tu veux passer tes jours dans quelque paix,  
Toujours, comme d'un mal, défends-toi de ses traits [Acte II, sc. ii].

It would be no fairer to claim this as the true opinion of the poet, than to maintain that under the influence of his fondness for his precocious young actor, Baron, the charming young Myrtile of the play, the author felt his own former faith in love revive. The general impression left by the dialogues of the lovers accords better with the latter view.

The *Pastorale comique*, which was presented during the same festival (the "Ballet des Muses," which lasted for several months), in its few speeches, songs, and brief indications of actors in the various scenes, contains nothing which seems to have any bearing on this question.

The odd one-act comedy entitled *le Sicilien*, which reminds one of *l'Ecole des maris*, of *le Malade imaginaire*, and of Beaumarchais' *le Barbier de Séville*, but yet has no great resemblance to any of them, was presented during the same fête (February, 1667). It interests us as presenting Molière again playing the rôle of a jealous prospective bridegroom, outwitted by his rival and his closely guarded slave-girl, with whom we sympathize in her escape from her tyrannous old lover. Don Pèdre is made not wholly ridiculous. His part does not seem to offer the opportunity for comic effect possessed by that of Hali, the ingenious slave of the successful lover, and one is a little puzzled to explain Molière's choice of the rôle.

for himself, except that it was the principal one. His wife had only the second female part,<sup>1</sup> the first being taken by Mlle de Brie. Hence she does not represent the oppressed, resentful slave-girl, who so ill requites her owner's jealous affection and desire to marry her, but is only an instrument to aid in freeing her and in administering a rebuke to the distrustful old man. One can hardly bring oneself to believe that even Molière could have had the courage to flout so unmercifully the jealous temperament which he himself possessed, though Don Pèdre is objectionable only in this one characteristic.

That our poet was capable, however, of this pitiless, almost cruel searching of his own heart, of laying bare with startling accuracy those hidden failings in the depths of man's soul which lend themselves to mockery, we know from *le Malade imaginaire*. In the writer who could compose the speeches of both Don Pèdre and Isidore we seem to catch another trace of that inconsistency which the author found in his own passion. His reason admitted the folly of Don Pèdre's methods and mocked at them, but his heart demanded that his wife give up everything for him, though he realized that it is but a natural instinct for a woman to seek to inspire admiration and love. Would not these be the sentiments of *le Misanthrope*, after the first revolt is over and he has gained a little calmer view of life? Do we not find the same mingled strain of protest and of yielding to overmastering passion in several plays?<sup>2</sup>

The following lines from *le Sicilien* are suggestive for comparison with the attitude toward jealousy elsewhere (sc. vii):

*Isidore:* A quoi bon de dissimuler? Quelque mine qu'on fasse, on est toujours bien aise d'être aimée. Ces hommages à nos appas ne sont jamais pour nous déplaire. Quoi qu'on en puisse dire, la grande ambition des femmes est, croyez-moi, d'inspirer de l'amour. Tous les soins qu'elles prennent ne sont que pour cela; et l'on n'en voit point de si fière qui ne s'applaudisse en son cœur des conquêtes que font ses yeux.

<sup>1</sup> This is perhaps due to her angry outburst during which she slaps the thirteen-year-old Baron, causing him to leave the troupe and break up the comedy-ballet, *Mélicerte*, presented during the same festival.

<sup>2</sup> Schneegans, in his discussion of *l'Ecole des femmes* (Molière, p. 89) advances a similar view, explaining that the poet must express his inmost feelings, at least unconsciously, and must not be blamed for so doing, even though he mention matters which family pride would ordinarily suppress.

*Don Pèdre:* Chacun aime à sa guise, et ce n'est pas là ma méthode. Je serai fort ravi qu'on ne vous trouve point si belle, et vous m'obligerez de n'affecter point tant de la parafstre à d'autres yeux.

*Isidore:* Quoi! jaloux de ces choses-là?

*Don Pèdre:* Oui, jaloux de ces choses-là; mais jaloux comme un tigre, et, si vous voulez, comme un diable. Mon amour vous veut toute à moi. Sa délicatesse s'offense d'un souris, d'un regard qu'on vous peut arracher; et tous les soins qu'on me voit prendre ne sont que pour fermer tout accès aux galants, et m'assurer la possession d'un cœur dont je ne puis souffrir qu'on me vole la moindre chose.

. . . . .

*Don Pèdre:* Si bien donc que si quelqu'un vous en contait, il vous trouverait disposée à recevoir ses vœux?

And sc. xx:

*Don Pedre:* Comment! que veut dire cela?

*Zaide<sup>1</sup> (sans voile):* Ce que cela veut dire? Qu'un jaloux est un monstre hâ de tout le monde, et qu'il n'y a personne qui ne soit ravi de lui nuire, n'y eût-il point d'autre intérêt; que toutes les serrures et les verrous du monde ne retiennent point les personnes, et que c'est le cœur qu'il faut arrêter par la douceur et par la complaisance; qu'Isidore est entre les mains du cavalier qu'elle aime, et que vous êtes pris pour dupe.<sup>2</sup>

*Amphitryon* (January 13, 1668) has been cited as a play in which Molière, basely subservient to the pleasure of the king, presented the latter's liaison with Mme de Montespan in sympathetic colors, arguing that "un partage avec Jupiter n'a rien du tout qui déshonore." Such an abhorrent point of view would not harmonize with the ideas of the poet as we have seen them developed: it is justly refuted by Rigal<sup>3</sup> from the evidence of the play itself. The concluding speeches imply on the part of Amphitryon a yielding to superior power, but no admission of its justice. The worst that can be said is that the whole treatment is in a very flippant tone, which is perhaps necessary to make the theme comic. Alcmène remains wholly loyal and virtuous, in spite of her infidelity toward her husband, which not only is entirely involuntary, but even redounds to her glory, since Jupiter announces that he could not have won her favor save by assuming the appearance of her husband. Amphit-

<sup>1</sup> Played by Armande.

<sup>2</sup> These same sentiments are found in *l'Ecole des mariés* and in *l'Ecole des femmes*.

<sup>3</sup> See his *Molière*, II, 134 ff.

tryon exhibits the feelings of outraged honor and jealous rage which would be expected, complicated by the astonishment caused by the supernatural element involved.

Perhaps consistency would require us to explain the significance attached to the conversation, at the end of Act I, between Mercury, under the guise of Sosie, and Cléanthis, the wife of the latter, in which the god makes sport of her, and, like the husband in the old farce, would prefer to see her less virtuous and more agreeable. The explanation I would find in the reminiscence of the farce, and the certain comic effect of such an unusual point of view. The sentiments expressed by Alcmène with respect to jealousy are more reasonable, and more like those of Elvire of *Don Garcie*, when she was finally convinced that her lover's jealous passion was really a disease. They accord also with the idea, which the author has previously developed, of the contest between reason and passion, or sentiment.

*Amphytrion*, Act II, sc. vi:

La jalouse a des impressions  
Dont bien souvent la force nous entraîne;  
Et l'âme la plus sage, en ces occasions,  
Sans doute avec assez de peine  
Répond de ses émotions.  
L'emportement d'un cœur qui peut s'être abusé  
A de quoi ramener une âme qu'il offense;  
Et, dans l'amour qui lui donne naissance  
Il trouve au moins, malgré toute sa violence,  
Des raisons pour être excusé;  
De semblables transports contre un ressentiment  
Pour défense toujours ont ce qui les fait naître;  
Et l'on donne grâce aisément  
A ce dont on n'est pas le maître.

And Act III, sc. vii:

De semblables erreurs, quelque jour qu'on leur donne,  
Touchent des endroits délicats;  
Et la raison bien souvent les pardonne,  
Que l'honneur et l'amour ne les pardonneront pas.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps someone may wish to quote in this connection the monologue of Amphytrion, Act III, sc. iii, debating whether or not he should make his disgrace public, and may feel that the conclusion of the author is that expressed by Sosie in the last two lines of the play:

Sur de telles affaires toujours  
Le meilleur est de ne rien dire.

The comment of Professor Lefranc is worthy of quotation:

Avec cela nous devons noter la tendance de plus en plus âpre qui caractérise des pièces comme *le Misanthrope*, *Amphytrion*, *George Dandin*, *l'Avare*, *M. de Pourceaugnac*. Ce n'est plus la satire d'une classe ou d'un groupe d'hommes: précieuses, hypocrites, médecins ou marquis. Molière dirige, maintenant, ses traits contre l'humanité en général, contre la vie sociale, contre les vices des hommes. C'est la conséquence de ses nombreux déboires, et elle est très sensible.<sup>1</sup>

I seem to detect an inclination on the part of Molière to condone, at least from the standpoint of reason, some of these failings: he looks upon them with the eyes of Philinte who sees in them vices inseparable from human nature, while emotionally he rises against them. He is inclined to greater tolerance toward the person, while still hating the vice. Is it his love which is producing this change, and leading him unwillingly toward a spirit of reconciliation?

When one compares the play next in order, *George Dandin* (July 18, 1668, Versailles), with the farce, *la Jalousie du barbouillé*, probably written in the provinces, one is at once struck by the difference in tone. The first is a mere dramatization of an incident (the husband is enticed from the house by the wife whom he has locked out) with the addition of the consultation with the doctor, a little farcical dialogue with the wife and her father, and some horseplay. One's sympathies are not aroused in the least by the Barbouillé's misfortunes. There is no bitterness, no feeling of injustice: there is only the same picture of woman's wiles as that offered by the old fabliaux, coarse, disrespectful, indecent in parts. It lacks altogether the social satire on the clash of classes, the idea of *mésalliance*, found in *George Dandin*. It is merely the conventional unhappy match in which the girl has been married, against her will, to the rich suitor favored by her father. *George Dandin* is more than the burlesque type of the jealous man: we are made to feel the tragedy

<sup>1</sup> A. Lefranc, *Revue des cours et conf.*, XVII (1909), 198. Compare with the views expressed above the theory of Becker, "H. Schneegans zur Erwiderung," *Zeitschr. für vergl. Litteraturgesch.*, XVI (1906), 194-221. He considers that all of the plays from *les Précieuses ridicules* to *le Misanthrope* should be regarded as presenting connected phases of an inner evolution, in which the ideas are continually more profound, due rather to the progress of inspiration than to chance reading or personal experiences. He attempts to prove, also, that Grimarest's *Histoire de M. de Molière*, and *la Famouse Comédienne*, which have furnished much of the evidence for the domestic unhappiness of Molière, are both entirely unreliable; that the first based much of its information on the latter, in the composition of which he thinks Baron probably had a hand out of vindictiveness toward Armande.

of his impotence in the face of his wife's infidelity and his knowledge of it. It is to be noted, however, that in his case it is not so much real love for his wife which causes his distress, as in other of Molière's plays,<sup>1</sup> as it is resentment at fate and at the way the noble father-and mother-in-law impose upon him and overawe him.

One would say that this represents a mood in which the author's bitterness was uppermost, in so far as his thoughts of his wife were concerned. The husband is ridiculous, we are annoyed that he is so cowardly; yet the modern spectator feels no sympathy for the wife, and one can hardly believe that the audience of Molière's day could have done so, or that the author intended that any should be felt. This is unusual, as I think I have shown. Even in *le Misanthrope*, the reader can see some explanation of Célimène's protest against Alceste's manner and of her unwillingness to marry him, though he may not justify her; in *George Dandin* even the fact that Angélique was married against her will, a procedure the folly of which Molière always tried to bring out, does not suffice to excuse her in our eyes.<sup>2</sup>

For *l'Avare* (September 9, 1668), which follows *George Dandin*, we can advance no direct similarity with the facts of the author's life, nor any reference to his relations with Armande. Molière does allude to his own physical infirmity when Harpagon is vaunting his sturdiness to Frosine, and one may note that here, as in most of his plays, the old man in love is made ridiculous, and the sympathy of the spectator, or reader, is with the girl who objects to marrying him. One cannot feel, however, that Molière attributed to Harpagon any other of his own characteristics than the cough, or that he felt that a similar aversion would apply to himself. Moreover, his age would not correspond with that of Harpagon by fourteen years.<sup>3</sup> The supposition that in the miser he is caricaturing traits

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Arnolphe of *l'Ecole des femmes* and Alceste of *le Misanthrope*.

<sup>2</sup> Schneegans, "Molière's Subjektivismus," *Zeitschr. für vergl. Litteraturgesch.*, thinks it characteristic that both of Molière's comedies in which the infidelity of a wife is brought on the stage fall within the period in which he and his wife were separated: *Amphitryon*, Jan. 16, 1668; *George Dandin*, July 18, 1668. "Is it chance?" he asks. "Or does the poet seize a theme near to him? There is a pessimistic basis in spite of their gayety. *L'Avare*, Sept. 9, 1668, belongs to the same period."

<sup>3</sup> I do not think that the following lines allude directly to Molière's own experiences, though they are in the tone he so often adopts: "Mais Frosine, il y a encore une chose qui m'inquiète. La fille est jeune, comme tu vois; les jeunes gens, d'ordinaire, n'aiment que leurs semblables, et ne cherchent que leur compagnie; j'ai peur qu'un homme de mon âge ne soit pas de son goût, et que cela ne vienne à produire chez moi certains petits désordres qui ne m'accorderaient pas."—[Act II, sc. vi.]

of his own father seems likewise without foundation, though I do not believe that the dramatist would have hesitated to use such material had it suited his purpose; he would have dissembled it under his usual disguise of accompanying characteristics not to be found in the original. With such precautions he should not be criticized as lacking in filial duty and respect.<sup>1</sup>

It should be observed, however, that the underlying theme of *l'Avare* is tragic, as has been frequently brought out,<sup>2</sup> and this side of the picture reappears, in spite of the remarkably successful efforts of the author to emphasize the comic side. In this respect it is similar to *George Dandin*, though every reader will, I think, carry away a much more painful impression from that play than from *l'Avare*. In this play such punishment as Harpagon receives is richly deserved, but we cannot imagine that he is greatly disturbed by the fortunes of his family after he gets his money back. This very insensibility to all things except those affecting his purse is part of the real tragedy of the play. In *George Dandin*, the penalty appears unmerited, the suffering more real and hopeless. There is more sincerity when the hero gives vent to his emotions; there is more intimate personal comprehension and sympathy. Is the explanation of this difference to be found, in part at least, in the author's keener comprehension of the passion of jealousy, and in the fact that in the first of these pieces he was venting his own hopeless disappointment, and, having done so, took up again the broader field of general satire, putting aside the problems which would bring his mind upon his own sorrows? Perhaps his anger against Armande had even cooled so far that he was again willing to admit the unreasonableness of expecting a young girl to love a man so much her elder.

It is immaterial whether or not he was already at work on *l'Avare* before the presentation of *George Dandin*, as Rigal assumes, or completed it as a hasty patchwork from various sources after the production of the other play. In either case *George Dandin* would represent the rather cruel baring of a wound which the poet could

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Schneegans, *Molière*, p. 192, where some similarities in the characters of Harpagon and Poquelin are pointed out.

<sup>2</sup> See Schneegans, *loc. cit.*, and Rigal, *Molière*, II, 162.

no longer endure in silence, and for which he sought relief by expression in this anonymous way, finding a kind of bitter pleasure in thus mocking something which was serious to him, and offering it to the sport of the courtiers, though in travestied form.<sup>1</sup>

There seems to be no passage of *M. de Pourceaugnac* (October, 1669), which refers in an unmistakable way to Molière's domestic relations, though the editor of the play, in the "Grands Ecrivains" series, finds that the description of the patient given by the doctors as they diagnose his case as melancholia, tallies with the author-actor's own appearance at this time as indicated by the reference, in *Elomire hypocondre*, to his "mélancolie hypocondriaque, sa maigreur, sa pâleur." The editor comments as follows:

On peut donc trouver quelques raisons de conjecturer que, dans le passage cité de notre pièce, Molière, avec un singulier courage, a plaisanté sur sa triste figure de malade et sur ses maux trop réels; ne les a-t-il pas nargués encore dans sa dernière comédie et jusqu'au jour de sa mort? Nous ne mettrons pas, pour cela, en doute la franchise de son rire. Il y avait en lui un fond de gaieté non forcée, qui défaiait les assauts de la maladie.

May he not have had like courage to jest about his moral as well as about his physical sufferings? This supposition is just as plausible as the first, and would explain many allusions in *le Misanthrope*, *George Dandin*, and other plays. The tone of the play apparently denotes a heart free from distress, but, in the case of the comedian, one cannot tell. The female characters, it is worthy of remark, are not attractive.

In the *divertissement royal* called *les Amants magnifiques* (February, 1670), the heroine is again an attractive figure. In her ideas of the honor and dignity pertaining to her rank she resembles Dofia Elvire of *Don Garcie*, but she is more sympathetic, more human, less artificial and pedantic. She even displays an admirable bit of feminine malice in embarrassing Sostrate after Clitidas has betrayed the former's love for her. She also possesses good judgment and independence in her distrust of the astrologer and his science, and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Loiseleur, *Les Points obscurs de la vie de Molière* (Paris, 1877), p. 327: "Le personnage de la coupable épouse de *George Dandin*, qu'il lui [Armande] fit jouer dans une période d'exaspération, satisfait une fois et pour toujours le faible besoin de représailles de cette âme indulgente et tendre. Par combien de flatteries indirectes ne racheta-t-il pas cette exceptionnelle satisfaction donnée à ses rancunes, et dont peut-être Armande, avec sa légèreté insoucieuse, ne s'aperçut même pas!"

yet she loves and honors her mother, who is depicted as shallow, vain, and superstitious, though more affectionate than most of Molière's mothers. In the rôle of Clitidas there may be occasional allusions to Molière himself in his functions of court amuser, and an expression of personal opinion in his opposition to the astrologer. One is tempted to regard the latter as a figure standing for the church, or for religious hypocrites. The rôle of Clitidas was evidently taken by Molière himself, and Eriphile may have been played by Armande. There seems to be nothing noteworthy in the relations of the two, but the period is one of reconciliation with Armande,<sup>1</sup> and this fact would explain the more sympathetic presentation of the heroine.

According to accepted tradition, the description of Lucile's personal characteristics in Act III, sc. ix, of *le Bourgeois gentilhomme*, where the lover, Cléonète, has his servant point out bad qualities in his lady, applies to Armande who was playing that rôle. It was not uncommon for Molière to make such references to the actors,<sup>2</sup> but this would lead one to attach special meaning to such speeches as the following (Act. III, sc. ix):

*Corielle:* Elle est capricieuse autant que personne au monde.

*Cléonète:* Oui, elle est capricieuse, j'en demeure d'accord, mais tout sied bien aux belles; on souffre tout des belles.

*Corielle:* Puisque cela va comme cela, je vois bien que vous avez envie de l'aimer toujours.

*Cléonète:* Moi? j'aimerais mieux mourir; et je vais la haïr autant que je l'ai aimée.

*Corielle:* Le moyen, si vous la trouvez si parfaite?

*Cléonète:* C'est en quoi ma vengeance sera plus éclatante, en quoi je veux faire mieux voir la force de mon cœur à la haïr, à la quitter, toute belle, toute pleine d'attrait, toute aimable que je la trouve. La voici. ...

And Act III, sc. x:

*Cléonète:* Ah! Lucile, qu'avec un mot de votre bouche vous savez apaiser de choses dans mon cœur! et que facilement on se laisse persuader aux personnes qu'on aime.

This is the tone of part of Alceste's complaint in *le Misanthrope*, and is to be found in other plays. It is to be observed that all of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Schneegans, *Molière*, but also Chatfield-Taylor, *Molière, a Biography*, p. 417.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Jodelet in *les Précieuses ridicules*; the limp of the actor Béjart, and Molière's own cough in *l'Avaré*, etc.

the female rôles are more or less sympathetic in this play, including Mme Jourdain, whose good sense is admirable, even if we disapprove somewhat of her too practical turn of mind and too outspoken manner. Dorimène, the fashionable young marquise, has a very unromantic view of matrimony: she is a widow, and speaks from experience when she says (Act III, sc. xviii):

Mon Dieu! Dorante, il faut des deux parts bien des qualités pour vivre heureusement ensemble; et les deux plus raisonnables personnes du monde ont souvent peine à composer une union dont ils soient satisfaits.

Can one avoid the conviction that the dramatist is here again voicing the conciliatory sentiments of his heart, and offering an explanation of his attitude toward his wife?<sup>1</sup>

Sur un plus fort appui ma croyance se fonde;  
Et le charme qu'elle a pour attirer les coeurs,  
C'est un air en tout temps désarmé de rigueurs,  
Des regards caressants que la bouche seconde,  
Un souris chargé de douceurs,  
Qui tend les bras à tout le monde,  
Et ne vous promet que faveurs.

These lines, taken from the first scene of the first act of *Psyché*, in which Molière, Corneille, and Quinault collaborated, are spoken by one of the envious sisters of Psyché and may possibly have reference to the coquettish manner of Armande, who played that rôle. No other allusion to her was noticeable in the first act, nor in the other scenes of this play which were written by Molière. Perhaps the tone of the whole play with its mingled felicity and adversity, and the final victory of love, may present in allegorical fashion the author's own experience with this passion. It is commonly assumed that the general plan of the play is Molière's. At all events attention should be given to the fact that Psyché is an attractive character, and that those who misjudge her do it through envy, and are punished.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Schneegans, *Molière*, pp. 200, 207, connects the attractive picture of Armande presented by her husband, in Cléonte's description of Lucile, with the reconciliation between Molière and his wife which took place about this time (1670). Loiseleur, *Les Points obscurs de la vie de Molière*, pp. 327 ff., dates the reconciliation toward the end of 1671. This would put it after the presentation of *le Bourgeois gentilhomme*, and one would be more than ever tempted to see overtures of peace in the passages cited.

<sup>2</sup> Rigal (II, 231) recalls the tradition that sentiment, which abounds in the play, is due to the tender passion of the old Corneille for the young actress Armande, for whom Baron also, who had the rôle of Love, was ready to betray his benefactor.

The beauty and sincerity of expression of paternal grief found in the father's lament over the loss of his daughter has been noted by some commentators as coming from the poet's own heart and experience. Louis, his first-born son, died when only a few months old, in 1664. Molière lost his father in 1669, and other deaths occurred in his immediate circle about this time.

The gay comedy, or farce, *les Fourberies de Scapin*, 1671, has no other purpose than to amuse, and contains, so far as I can discover, no allusions to the life of the author, nor to his attitude toward Armande or women in general. The women characters are conventional and unimportant, save the laughing Zerbinette, a part written for Mlle de Beauval. Here we find another instance of the dramatist's composing his play with a given person in mind.

The jealous outburst of Monsieur Harpin, the "receveur," in *la Comtesse d'Escarbagnas*, which accompanied the *Ballet des Ballets* in 1671, in its outspoken language recalls Alceste. In her coquetry and in her desire to keep the favor of all her suitors, the Countess has a slight resemblance to Célimène. The similarities with *le Misanthrope* end here, however, and the few speeches which have the tone of that play, on a lesser scale, may not contain any allusion to the domestic life of the author, though they may be so interpreted. Monsieur Harpin shows real emotion, especially in contrast with the others, and this would tempt one to attach especial importance to his words. One would never think of connecting the Countess with Armande, save in the one particular mentioned. It should be observed, also, that Molière had no rôle in this part of the performance, and that this period is the one accepted for his reconciliation with his wife. This would seem to be out of harmony with our theory, but even at such a time distrust and jealousy like that of Don Garcie or Alceste would not be wholly quieted. The words cited below certainly seem applicable to Molière and Armande (sc. xxi):

*La Comtesse d'Escarbagnas:* Oui. L'on ne vient point crier de dessus un théâtre ce qui se doit dire en particulier.

*M. Harpin:* J'y viens, moi, morbleu! tout exprès; c'est le lieu qu'il me faut; et je souhaiterais que ce fût un théâtre public, pour vous dire avec plus d'éclat toutes vos vérités.

. . . . .

*M. Harpin:* Je veux dire que je ne trouve point étrange que vous vous rendiez au mérite de monsieur le vicomte; vous n'êtes pas la première femme qui joue dans le monde de ces sortes de caractères, et qui ait auprès d'elle un monsieur le receveur, dont on lui voit trahir et la passion et la bourse pour le premier venu qui lui donnera dans la vue. Mais ne trouvez point étrange aussi que je ne sois point la dupe d'une infidélité aussi ordinaire aux coquettes du temps, et que je vienne vous assurer devant bonne compagnie que je romps commerce avec vous, et que monsieur le receveur ne sera plus pour vous monsieur le donneur.

*La Comtesse:* Cela est merveilleux comme les amants emportés deviennent à la mode! on ne voit autre chose de tous côtés.

Taking the play *les Femmes savantes* (1672) as a whole, it contains nothing which bears on the poet's domestic relations, unless we see in Chrysale's lament that he has not found in married life the repose for which he longs, some indication of the author's own disillusionment. In no one of the female characters, however, do we discover the characteristics which we have found associated with Molière's wife, unless it be the sharp retorts of the Armande of the play. The ills from which Chrysale's household is suffering are totally different from those which troubled Molière's domestic life, except in so far as they are contests of authority not uncommon to the married state. One would explain the attractive character of Henriette as embodying the poet's ideal, quite different in her calm reasonableness, depth of sincerity, and common sense, from the Célimènes and Angéliques who have impressed us as probable likenesses of Armande. Henriette in certain phases of her character is more like Eliante, the foil to Célimène.

We would interpret this play as proceeding from a period of resignation on the part of the author. He has ceased to rail against the faults of his wife: these, he realizes, are common to many other young people of the day. He contents himself with presenting the opposite ideal, which, at the same time, furnishes a contrast to other equally reprehensible foibles of the weaker sex. He may even have congratulated himself on being free of them, in his family. Molière might very well have said with Chrysale:

J'aime fort le repos, la paix, et la douceur,  
Et ma femme est terrible avecque son humeur,

but one would hardly regard as applicable to him and to Armande the lines which follow in the same speech:

Pour peu que l'on s'oppose à ce que veut sa tête,  
On en a pour huit jours d'effroyable tempête.  
Elle me fait trembler dès qu'elle prend son ton;  
Je ne sais où me mettre, et c'est un vrai dragon;  
Et cependant, avec toute sa diablerie,  
Il faut que je l'appelle et "mon cœur" et "ma mie."

In *le Malade imaginaire*, Molière's last play, presented in 1673 and composed during the preceding months, we find another disagreeable female rôle, that of Béline, the intriguing stepmother. It would be possible and in keeping with our thesis, if we saw in her a further development in the attitude of Molière toward his wife; he has now reached the point after their reconciliation where he feels that she cares for him, or pretends to, only for his money.

It is not impossible that renewed distrust and disappointment in Armande may have found vent in the character of Béline. To have done so openly would have been repugnant to all the finer sensibilities; hidden under the disguise of such a character the vengeance would be for the dramatist alone. But there is little foundation in the play for this interpretation: there is hardly more than certain references to the purely self-interested motives of the stepmother. One might imagine that Armande had not shown much love for her husband and was not inconsolable after Molière's death, but arguments of this type I have avoided. The most one can say is that Molière had some reason for presenting, in a cutting manner, the self-seeking woman who marries for money, and who is not merely the traditional stepmother.

As Armande took the rôle of Angélique, the daughter, who represents a very different type, affectionate and likable, it would be quite reasonable to assume that it is in this personage that one should seek allusions to Molière's wife. The meaning would be entirely changed then, and he would seem to be putting into her mouth a new expression of faith in the purity of her motives, when he has Angélique say:

Chacun a son but en se mariant. Pour moi, qui ne veux un mari que pour l'aimer véritablement, et qui prétends en faire tout l'attachement de ma

vie, je vous avoue que j'y cherche quelque précaution. Il y en a d'aucunes qui prennent des maris seulement pour se tirer de la contrainte de leurs parents, et se mettre en état de faire tout ce qu'elles voudront. Il y en a d'autres, madame, qui font du mariage un commerce de pur intérêt, qui ne se marient que pour gagner des douaires ... [Acte II, sc. vii].

Such conflicting evidence brings home again the hazard of drawing conclusions from subjective interpretation. It is far simpler, and it may be wiser, to resist the temptation to penetrate beneath the surface, accepting only what is universal and eternal in the dramatist's picture of life. Nevertheless, one must feel that in his flouting of the imaginary invalid, with his abject fear of death and the doctors, the really sick dramatist courageously took elements which he found in his own heart, and which he recognized as universal, but which in their manifestations were ridiculous and hence available for comic effect. In the impulses of his heart, to which he may or may not yield, the "great observer" sees the source from which spring the vagaries, obsessions, and vices which appear ridiculous in other people. He seizes upon these in a personage whom he permits to be dominated by them, combines them with others, and places him in a situation which will give them full play; by means of a little exaggeration—the comic writer's magnifying glass—he lays them bare in all their ugliness or absurdity, but always from the amusing side, and impersonally, or, at least, impartially.<sup>1</sup>

If he does this for his own heart, it is equally probable that characteristics of the people around him reappear in the figures which move about his comic individual, and that his own domestic life would reappear in some form. It is hardly to be denied that this has been proven for some plays. It is very likely, also, that conflicting tendencies or inconsistencies in the same individual may appear as characteristics particularly stressed in different personages. The evidence shows, in my opinion, that the subjective element is much stronger in some plays than in others. And this, also, is

<sup>1</sup> Schneegans, *op. cit.*, represents Molière as expressing the sufferings of his heart not in song, for he was not a lyric poet, but in comedy, citing this play. And, again, as a humorist, he sees him laughing, not only at others, but, "tears in his eyes," at himself. The same interpretation of the poet's self-analysis appears in Ed. Fournier's *Le Roman de Molière* (Paris, 1863). He shows him "endeavoring to translate into smiles for the public all his secret melancholies," especially at the time of *le Misanthrope*, when his heart "should have burst in sobs, for he suffered all that a loving heart can suffer."

what one would expect. It was when the dramatist's emotions had been especially stirred that he relieved them by giving them expression in his plays, and the lover of Molière who has tried to come close to him is aware of this as he reads: there is a current running through them corresponding, in a way, to the author's emotional experiences, particularly to his feelings toward his wife. This appears to be true after *le Misanthrope*, as in that play, and before it. The tone is different, it is gayer and more tolerant when he is seeking reconciliation with his wife, or is just reconciled (*le Bourgeois gentilhomme*); in that of *George Dandin*, or *Amphitryon*, jealous pessimism, or cynicism, seems to predominate. At other times he appears less concerned or more resigned (*les Femmes savantes*), merely poking fun at the stock butt of the jester, the henpecked husband. Or, again, the tone of the play is wholly that of the farce (*les Fourberies de Scapin*).

Perhaps the writer has been led astray by too great attention to a single question, but he has tried to avoid exaggeration; to his mind, the connection is clear between the life of the poet and the general spirit of the plays, though it is illustrated sometimes only in an isolated scene. Molière has generalized, as does Alceste, from his own personal experiences, but he has rectified these generalizations by broader observation and wider sympathy with all that is human. With the heart of Alceste he combines the head of Philinte: he can see and ridicule his own shortcomings as he does those of his fellow-men. It is this factor which causes his plays to be mirrors in which his contemporaries might and did see themselves, or, more frequently, their neighbors. Here too we may see the people of our own day, not merely distorted, as in the magic mirror of the side-show, but rather like the figures of a fancy-dress ball, with the costumes and the mannerisms of the age of Louis XIV. Among them we observe, from time to time, the figures of the painter himself and of his wife, and, as we look, they are not figures merely, but living personalities, more real because of what we know about their lives and their difficulties.

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## MOLIÈRE'S EXPOSITION OF A COURTY CHARACTER IN *DON JUAN*

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Among the numerous and varying analyses of one of Molière's most interesting characters—that of Don Juan—there may be room for a treatment which attempts to emphasize both the unity of that character in the course of its exposition and development throughout the play and its relation to a courtly standard of conduct well known in the milieu wherein the play was first produced.

### I

Molière's setting forth of the character of his hero may be considered a development and elucidation of the theme announced in the very first scene by Sganarelle—"Un grand seigneur méchant homme est une terrible chose." The servant is in fact commenting not on the general character of his master, but on the dreadful fascination which that character exerts upon the mind of the valet, compelling him to acquiesce in deeds against which his soul rises in revolt. None the less, the remark serves well as a text for the play as a whole.

The development of Don Juan's character in the play—for such a development there plainly is—is divided into two parts by the moment of his mock conversion, and organized analysis demands the separate treatment of the two periods. In the first, then, the actions and opinions of Don Juan are those of a gentleman of the first rank, who is, however, given over to the pursuit of one end—the satisfaction of passion. The less any one of his traits is concerned with the attainment of that end, the more nearly it approximates to a part of the normal character of the ideal gentleman; but every trait of such a character which interferes with the success of the moving impulse is thereby rigorously crushed out. Don Juan is courageous—witness: his readiness to approach the town where he has lately killed the Commandeur; his swift aid to Don Carlos against the robbers; his readiness to defend himself upon the arrival

of Don Alonse and his party—even his disdainful refusal to conceal his identity contributes to the character; his readiness to give Don Carlos satisfaction in duel; his behavior in the presence of the specter; and his calm demeanor in the three encounters with the statue. Even the disguisal of Don Juan and Sganarelle is explicitly justified by the hero as a ruse against an overwhelming force. I am inclined to credit him with the virtue of generosity in the incident of the begging recluse of the forest; for although the man stoutly refuses to swear despite the offered bribe, Don Juan finally tosses it to him “for the love of”—not “God,” as the natural phrase runs, but “humanity.” Why this troublesome expression ever appeared in the play is a matter of discussion;<sup>1</sup> Don Juan’s regard for humanity is a minus quantity throughout. The strongest suggestion, where none are very strong, appears to be to the effect that Don Juan turned the end of the formula through a desire—while omitting the mention of God—to use a word of rather general ideal meaning. It is possible that a survey of the plays or verse of the time might discover some rhetorical tag end of phrase or line well enough known to be called to the mind of Molière’s audience by the present expression; but that is a long shot, and the only evident thing is that the occasion was one of generosity on the speaker’s part. Urbanity of address and manner characterize this *grand seigneur* as they do the normal gentleman: “ce bon Gusman,” the recluse, M. Dimanche and Don Louis receive courteous treatment, although in the last case to be sure the undercurrent of insolence in Don Juan’s manner belies his words.

There are of course two episodes wherein the behavior of Don Juan is not consonant with the character of the *grand seigneur*: the scene of the squabble with Pierrot, and that of the fruitless visit of M. Dimanche. But it is noteworthy that these scenes were so to speak forced upon the dramatist by the conditions under which he was writing his play. He had a comedy to compose on short notice from material more or less ready to hand in Spanish and French

<sup>1</sup> Cf. for example, C. Magnin, “Le Don Juan de Molière,” in *Revue des Deux Mondes*, (1er février, 1847), pp. 425 ff.; J. Janin, *Critiques dramatiques, La comédie*, Tome I, p. 120; *Oeuvres de Molière* (ed. Société des anciens textes français) 1880, Tome V, pp. 146 ff.; ed. Moland, 1885, Tome I, p. 233, Tome VI, p. 363. Among lexicons v. Hatzfeld-Darmesteter-Thomas, Génin, Livet, and lexicon at the end of the edition of the Société des anciens textes français, all s.v. *humanité*.

plays and in the Italian *commedie dell'arte*; scenes of the type here mentioned—of the comic countryman and the anxious tradesman cozened by the hero—were no unusual devices for creating laughs. Moreover, it is to be observed that, as Gendarme de Bévotte<sup>1</sup> has pointed out, contempt for creditors was a foible of contemporary high life current enough to require castigation by such men as Bossuet, Bourdaloue, and Fénelon. Now take away or emasculate these two scenes of comic action and the only one remaining appears in the dinner which Don Juan shares with Sganarelle, and to which the statue brings such a sudden ending. Incidentally, this juxtaposition of the farcical and the terrible suggests with some force Shakspere's frequent device for heightening tragic effects; but Molière is following an Italian source with considerable fidelity. So then it appears that the structural importance of the two scenes mentioned may be discounted so far as they diminish the unity of the character-drawing, which shows a nobleman possessing the natural and developed qualities which contribute toward a complete character, save that in so far as those qualities touch the one pursuit which masters him they are warped and turned to the service, not so much of the man as of his passion.

How, then, does this passion of Don Juan affect the details of his character? To deal with this question it is necessary first to point out the fundamental negation upon which Don Juan rests the fabric of his belief and behavior. He denies the authority over his actions of God and of mankind alike. Now a dramatist might during the Renaissance in its earlier stages have built up the character of a hero based on his relations with his fellow-men, while refusing to consider the religious sanctions as bearing on ideal conduct. Neither Aristotle nor Castiglione had referred to religion to support their structures of the great-souled man and of the courtier. But in the atmosphere of later comedy—as contrasted with the refined and formalized classicism of tragedy—the picture of a man who could defy not only the social but the religious convictions of his milieu had a redoubled emphasis.

So we have the man who admits of no authority, whether human or divine, to control him. Here, however, there is no spring of

<sup>1</sup> *La légende de Don Juan ... Paris* (Hachette), 1906, p. 218.

action, but merely a foundation for any possible exertion of unbridled will. The spring of action appears in the passion for women which Sganarelle at the opening of the play describes from the world's point of view, and whose philosophy Don Juan expounds in turn to Sganarelle. The play begins by discovering the hero in flight from his wife and planning the abduction of a young woman toward whom his sudden fancy has turned; failing through the interposition of a storm (query: Is Providence showing itself here for the edification and comfort of the bourgeois-minded? Indeed, it is noteworthy that Molière, in strict conformity to classic rule, permits no acts of violence upon the stage throughout the play), he at once makes heated and complicated love to two country girls, first in succession and then together, attacking the fiancé of one, a bumpkin who has but lately rescued him from drowning; warned to flee from his wife's brothers, he falls in with them, and although protected for a time by one against the other, he eventually arranges for single combat with his protector. Meanwhile he has rejected first his wife's request for reconciliation and next her urgent entreaty that he avoid impending doom by reform, and has manifested the coolest disregard of his father's reproofs and admonitions. His governing passion, then, untrammeled by any admission of authority, results in the loss of the qualities of fidelity to the pledged word, of gratitude, and of that filial respect which is prescribed by both the religious and the social code. Possibly the greatest falling away from the ideals of the gentleman lies in the very fact that Don Juan permits any one impulse to outweigh and debase all the rest, reason and balance thus abdicating their rule.

The passion which animates Don Juan is, it will be observed, the excessive development of a desire that in itself, under Gassendi's classification,<sup>1</sup> is non-necessary, but harmless because natural. The horror of Don Juan's position is that of a perverted *nature*, not of a purely inhuman touch of character. Don Juan himself, incidentally, ascribes to nature the course which his actions take: in refusing to any object of his love a perpetual lien on his constancy, he says plainly: "Je rends à chacune les hommages et les tributs où la nature nous oblige." But even the natural desire has burned itself

<sup>1</sup> Petri Gassendi ... Operum Tom. II (ed. Lyon, 1658), p. 493.

out before Don Juan's punishment reaches him; there emerges in its stead a trait of wanton cruelty toward his victims—a sadistic corruption which marks the complete debasement of the human impulse. It is the stimulus of seeing another's happiness which urges him to plan the abduction of that fiancée of whom in the first act he is in pursuit; and again it is only when Elvire appears before him for the last time—when she has renounced her relations with him and has so to speak returned to the protection of that religious status from which he originally enticed her—that his jaded fancy is attracted by her obvious agony of spirit. It is no recognition of Elvire's anxiety for his welfare that moves Don Juan here to suggest her remaining with him, but the reawakening of an appetite dulled by continual abuse. What was at first the motive principle of the character ends by destroying itself.

So far, then, there appears the consistent character of a gentleman, warped by the excessive development of an impulse which renders him openly unscrupulous in any action subserving his purpose. This consistency and this brazeness of manner deserve special attention, for they render significant the great turning-point of the play, which is Don Juan's conversion. Up to this point his nature has been not so much developing before the eyes of the audience as showing successively its traits as they appear in the light of the compelling passion. The connoisseurs of character in the court might still have some approval—as indeed it is recorded that many courtiers did at the time of the presentation—for this virile and open manifestation of will. The character is still sound and coherent according to the norm of the time, derived in essence from Aristotle's exposition. Now comes the conversion—and before Don Juan can profit by it there comes the punishment of Heaven. This punishment is by no means to be taken as simply the well-earned reprisal for a series of sins, all of the same kind—seduction, murder, filial impiety, open and flagrant breaches of human and divine law. Don Juan's conversion is a new departure *in essence*, a change of the category of wickedness; no longer defying social and religious authority, he pretends to accept it, in order to reap the benefits of an assumed reform under the cloak of which he is to continue his misdeeds. This action is of course the equivalent of turning the laws of God and of

man to serve the sinner; and the dignity of those laws is maintained by the catastrophe which ends the play. It is noteworthy that Don Juan by his metamorphosis succeeds in outraging not only the ideals of the bourgeoisie, by his affront to human and divine authority, but also to some extent the tenets of the gentlefolk as well, who may have cared little enough for the sanctions of God regarding human conduct, but preserved the feeling that a strong character must be at least consistent. Don Juan has deserted from the ranks of gentlemen; his character has broken down; he is no longer a figure, but a poor dissembling scoundrel. He has by his *péripétie* forfeited the regard of Heaven, of moralist, and of courtier, and may be abandoned to his deserved punishment.

Now when does the idea of conversion come to Don Juan, and how does it take form? The first interview with Elvire shows him adopting the motive of conscience to mask ironically his desertion of her. In the fourth act, after Elvire has left him for the last time, he suggests to his servant: "Sganarelle, il faut songer à s'amender pourtant"; and on Sganarelle's enthusiastic acquiescence he turns off the matter: "Oui, ma foi, il faut s'amender. Encore vingt ou trente ans de cette vie-ci, et nous songerons à nous." The end is ironic, but the whole remark may well be designed to suggest on what subject Don Juan's mind is engaged, for on the following day he announces to his father his conversion and repentance. Moreover, from the very opening of the play the persons who undertake to remonstrate with him constantly adjure him in the name of Heaven—Sganarelle in his first conversation with his master, Elvire on her appearance,<sup>1</sup> Sganarelle again in the flight through the forest, the recluse, Sganarelle after the invitation to the statue, Don Louis in his first meeting with his son, Elvire when she returns to warn Don Juan to flee from the wrath to come—all reiterate the expression "le ciel" to exemplify the judge and punisher of human conduct. Now after hearing the word used by all the supporters of human and divine law, Don Juan upon his conversion has the formula ready for use, and tries it successfully in the interview with his father; while of the nine speeches made to Don Carlos—the next person

<sup>1</sup> Here it is to be noticed that Don Juan marks her use of the word by an aside to Sganarelle.

save Sganarelle to whom Don Juan speaks—eight are merely appeals to "le ciel" to justify the course Don Juan has taken.

Thus the dramatist has shown the degeneration of the *grand seigneur*. Don Juan's single passion, itself simply an excess of a normal desire, first bends his whole character to its purpose; eventually becoming itself submerged, it leads him to abrogate his last and greatest claim—he is no longer even a magnificent scoundrel. The character develops in the course of the action, and is not merely shown in successive details. The final sin is no simple addition to the list, but is an innovation in kind, and almost necessarily draws the punishment of Heaven upon the offender.

## II

Now what is the background against which the dramatist throws up this character in such sombre relief? Public opinion, social and religious, expressed by three chief characters—Sganarelle, Elvire, and Don Louis. None of these three, however, must be taken to be merely the vehicle for such an expression—the convention of the morality-play and the farce has been left behind, and the three characters grow during the course of the action.

Sganarelle represents the normal judgment of bourgeois society; the touchstones of his creed are heaven, hell, and the *loup-garou*, and he knows that his master's course is wrong even though he cannot prove it by art-logick against the pure atheist and scorner of human sanctions. The disapproval which Sganarelle feels for Don Juan's procedure is so strong that he permits himself plain words upon it to his master himself, and at times attempts to warn the victims; yet the service of that master has such a claim upon his loyalty that Sganarelle, protesting and trembling, none the less follows him to the end. The arguments which Sganarelle finds to use in his championship of morality are naturally of no avail against the utter unbeliever, whether the amateur theologian appeals to the *moine bourru* or to the patent aetiology of the universe. The latter point, by the way, is precisely the basis so frequently offered by Voltaire for his belief in God: there is a complicated machine, the world; someone must have made it.

Elvire, besides the personal appeal of her position, concentrates the claim of divine law to the obedience of Don Juan; the foundation of her character is the religious basis which her convent has instilled, and the combined devotion to Heaven and to the man who has betrayed her makes her a figure of no ordinary strength.

In Don Louis appear the ideals of the head of a noble family, and to some degree consequently the tenets of that court before which the play was first performed. Don Louis' address to his son is a development of the text "noblesse oblige" in a lofty and forceful style, urging the conception of family honor against the infamous life which Don Juan leads. We have, then, three characters furnishing the background of religious and social belief against which Don Juan's conduct appears in sharp contrast. The effect upon that conduct of the combined corrective influences is a change in his tactics which, while apparently carrying on his character, is in fact radically new, and overthrows his claim to consistency of wickedness.

From that point of view which refuses to allow the possibility of divine intervention in sublunary human affairs, the play is thoroughly immoral; the hero progresses from stage to stage of villainy, uncontrolled by social forces of any sort, and the playwright is compelled to an undignified appeal to supernatural power in order to stop him in his course. The immorality appears the greater in that Don Juan is a natural character, one whose possibility far more people would admit than could believe in a convenient thunderbolt to dispose of him. We find ourselves in a frightful land where the dragon is possible—indeed, where he is busily engaged in laying waste our countryside and devouring our womenfolk—while we cannot believe in a St. George to show us a divine judgment. The outlook is bad for mankind if there is no sure punishment for the complete scoundrel. Why, then, does the dramatist introduce the marvelous —lugged in as it were by the ears to save a play which is otherwise filled with examples of the naturalistic convention? This brings up the question of the provenance of the play and the influence upon its structure of other elements than that of original invention.

Schröder's work<sup>1</sup> elaborates a schema of the relationship of Molière's play to the earlier dramas of the *Don Juan* type. It is

<sup>1</sup> "Die dramatischen Bearbeitungen der *Don Juan*-Sage in Spanien, Italien und Frankreich bis auf Molière einschliesslich," Beiheft zur *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, 36. Heft, Halle (Max Niemeyer), 1912, p. 203.

impossible here to offer an outline of his process, but his conclusions, which develop and incorporate those of Gendarme de Bévotte,<sup>1</sup> present as the immediate sources of Molière's material:

1. A redaction of *El burlador de Sevilla* by Tirso de Molina, appearing in 1630, ten years after the original.

2. A play entitled *Le Festin de Pierre*, which Villiers in 1659 arranged from an Italian work in turn composed in 1652 by Gilberto from (a) an early Italian translation of the *Burlador*, plus (b) the work (before 1650) of another Italian, Cicognini.

3. Another *Festin de Pierre*, put together in 1658 by Dorimon out of (a) the Spanish redaction of the *Burlador*, plus (b) Cicognini's work—by way of a *commedia dell'arte* dating from 1657, plus (c) Gilberto's work. (Incidentally, Villiers is thought to have plagiarized from Dorimon, but in such genealogies as this it's a wise child that knows its own father.)

4. An Italian play of some time between 1600 and 1620, entitled *L'ateista fulminato*, traces of which appear in the *Burlador*, and on which also Cicognini and Gilberto had drawn to some degree.

5. That *commedia dell'arte* which Dorimon had used.

Now the general structure of his play Molière found prescribed for him; and particularly the catastrophe at the end, which is far more consonant with the elevated and romantic spirit of the Spanish original—or for that matter with the frankly comic Italian spirit—than with the naturalism of Molière's own conception. But despite the changed convention under which Molière was writing, he could not drop the chief incident of the well-known general plot; and the descent of Don Juan into hell remains to disturb the consistency of the atmosphere pervading the new play.

Now to return to the subject of the background against which the character of Don Juan appears; a distinction must be made between the social opinion described in the play—a composite of devoutness, family pride, and *bon sens*—and the social opinion to which Molière was actually addressing himself: the opinion of the court and of the people of Paris.

We need not look with Michelet<sup>2</sup> (*Histoire de la France; Louis XIV et la révocation de l'Édit de Nantes*, chap. v), with Schweitzer

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> For these and other references cf. Gendarme de Bévotte, *op. cit.*, pp. 180, 181.

(*Molière und seine Bühne*), nor with Gazier (*Mélanges de littérature et d'Histoire*) for a living breathing original of the character which Molière gives Don Juan; but we may trace the composite portrait of many folk of the time. The movement of the *libertins*, which followed the intellectual and moral emancipation of the Renaissance from Italy to France, had developed highly at the French court by the middle of the seventeenth century, and had educed as an off-shoot the purely selfish and non-philosophic group of skeptics, who enjoyed the license of behavior sanctioned by the new dispensation without concerning themselves about its theories. The result was a gangrene of society for which even Louis XIV felt obliged in time to attempt a remedy; Gendarme de Bévotte<sup>1</sup> cites the outrageous disregard of religion and morals shown by Henri de Lorraine, La Peyrière, Retz, Brissac, Manicamp, Guiche, Bussy, De Roquelaure, and other ornaments of the court. At the same time there developed, partly as a counterblast to the increasing license of the period, a revival of religious practice which eventually proclaimed itself as far removed as libertinism from the *juste milieu* wherein Molière put his social faith. As the *libertins* claimed the sanction of nature for their refusal of all control, so the *dévote*s<sup>2</sup> at the other pole both fulminated against even normal freedom of manner and at the same time gained apparent proselytes whose one end was the concealment of their conduct. Molière's work succeeds in gibbeting before his audience at once the out-and-out *debauchés* of his time and the narrow and fanatical converts, sincere or no, to the movement which arose with Jansenism. So this society with its two factions was present to Molière's mind during the period of hasty adaptation which resulted in *Don Juan*, as it had been when he aroused a wasp's nest by his presentation of *Tartuffe*. *Don Juan* takes the aspect of a gallant return to an attack which has been at first repulsed, in the general campaign aroused by the *École des femmes* and long maintained by the *précieuses*, the *marquis*, and the rather motley crew of companion sufferers from the playwright's wit. Both *Tartuffe* and *Don Juan*, by the way, belong to a time when Louis favored Molière

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 185, n. 2, 192-93.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. R. Allier, *La cabale des dévois 1627-1666*, Paris (Armand Colin), 1902; chaps. xvi-xix especially.

and was in ill humor with the *dévots* and (to a lesser degree to be sure) with the *libertins*. But the chief point here to be emphasized is really double: in the first place, the general conviction of the *honnêtes gens*, of whom the dramatist stands as the champion; in the second, the tenets and examples of a society actually living and powerful in the court of the period, and uniting the extremes of license and bigotry.

### III

The structure and technique of the play present the peculiarities to be expected from the manner of its composition; Molière has laid four authors under contribution toward the work, and has taken all imaginable liberties with the order of incidents and with the characters set forth by his predecessors. These changes frequently add nothing to the progress of the plot, but obscure and perplex the reader's mind; why should the scene of Don Juan's gallant rescue of Don Carlos, and his courageous admission of his identity in the presence of an overwhelming force follow directly the incident with the poor recluse, which proved so damaging to Don Juan's self-esteem? Why, again, have we the sequence of the first meeting with the statue, the comic scene with M. Dimanche, and the interview with Don Louis? Why does Elvire so suddenly reappear to urge repentance on her betrayer—an enterprise which has no effect on the development of the play? Why, moreover, do the acts take place: first in a palace, no explanation being made of this place as against a travelers' lodging, more natural for a man on his way from home on an adventure; next in a countryside near the sea; next, without expressed reason, in that very forest where the Commandeur's tomb stands; next in Don Juan's own home, where Elvire, somehow apprised of his return, comes to plead with him; next, and last, in the country again, where there appear with remarkable unanimity Don Juan's father, then Don Carlos, then the specter, and finally the statue? Unity of place has gone by the board; unity of time has suffered severely, at least a day and a half elapsing from beginning to end of the play; and the strictest remodeling could hardly give unity of action to such a potpourri as this adaptation from the works of three countries and some ten interdependent authors.

Another noteworthy point is the sudden change in tone manifested at the end of the third act. The naturalistic convention has been carried through the play to the point where the statue nods; the illusion that has been built up now disappears, and we have neither the high emotional-religious tone of the Spanish sources nor the frankly comic atmosphere of the Italians, nor again the tragic approached by Dorimon and Villiers. The play appears a hodge-podge, and the reader's mind falls into confusion.

But through this conglomerate of *comédie bouffe*, comedy of manners, comedy of character, and religious drama there develops a strong and unifying principle: the character of the hero disengages itself from incident after incident as steadily as the situation of a Greek tragedy. It appears in fact rather to dominate the circumstances through which it is carried in the play than to be affected by them. And in this connection a rather interesting question may be raised: as to whether *Don Juan* is not better to be judged as a novel than as a play.

Drama and novel alike concern the interaction of character and environment, in the full sense of the total of exterior influences operating upon character; now the necessities of play production require that the course of time during which the hero's character is concerned be condensed in representation, and that dramatic "situation" be emphasized in this condensing process. There are therefore in a play a limited number of points at which the tension of character against environment is drawn to its height; so that situation seems to dominate character to a greater degree than in the novel, wherein the character, being the element of continuity in a long and relatively complex series of situations which are therefore relatively unimportant, appears by its unifying quality to dominate the circumstances through which it passes. Now in *Don Juan* the structural importance of situation as such is small: Elvire's interview with Don Juan in the first act fails of the poignancy which it would have if there were any trace on the part of the hero of spiritual weakening or struggle; the scene as it turns out is no more than a single exhibit in the demonstration of what Don Juan's character has come to be. The affair with the unfortunate Pierrot and the two country girls is scarcely more than a bucolic interlude whose humorous aspect almost over-

shadows its expository value. The refusal of the recluse to swear for Don Juan's bidding raises the current of the play to the dignity of a situation; but it has no *suite* in the actions or the expressed sentiments of the hero. The discovery by Don Carlos of the fact that his rescuer is the very man whom he has been pursuing has the elements of situation; but it is not given the prominence in the play that it might have received if Molière had had more time to weld and shape his heterogeneous material. The conversations of Don Juan and Don Louis do not raise the tension of the play to any great degree; in the first Don Juan is quite unmoved throughout (and we know too little of Don Louis to feel that he is anything more to the play than the traditional "heavy father"), while in the second the father passes out of the play without affecting it further in any respect. The visit of Elvire has no link whatever with the rest of the play; and the scenes with the statue, which can be accepted at all only if the reader has become quite reconciled to the intruded supernatural, cannot properly claim the status of situations. We have therefore numerous incidents of which scarcely one can be elevated to the dignity of a full dramatic situation; they are all however significant episodes whereby the character of the hero makes itself clearer, and wherein it manifestly controls the action. It is possible thus to trace a novelistic technique in the work whose complex origins rendered the task of dramatic *remaniement* so arduous. Thus considered, the structural defects of the play—which are indeed to such an extent the heritage from Molière's predecessors—drop into insignificance, while the play itself manifests an artistic unity of no mean value. Out of chaos there arises the living figure of Don Juan.

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## THE INFERNAL COUNCIL<sup>1</sup>

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The purpose of this article is to trace the influence of Mantuan and Marino upon the development of the "Infernal Council," as well as to offer further material regarding the rôles of Sannazaro and Tasso in this development.

### I

To understand the influence of Baptista Mantuanus, also known as Spagnoli (1448–1516), it is necessary to remember that this now almost forgotten poet was the author of some 55,000 Latin verses, which became extremely popular not only in Italy, but also in France, Germany, and especially in England.<sup>2</sup> His lines were easy to memorize, and for two centuries his *Eclogues*, *Parthenices*, and other poems were used extensively as textbooks.

It was particularly through the *Parthenices* that Mantuan contributed to the development of the "Infernal Council." The *Parthenices* consist of seven poems, of which the first, known as *Primae Parthenices*, is a life of the Virgin Mary in three books. The second contains three books devoted to the story of St. Catherine of Alexandria, while the others treat the lives of St. Margarita, St. Agatha, St. Lucia, St. Apollonia, and St. Caecilia.

The influence of the *Primae Parthenices* upon later writers on the "Infernal Council" was mostly of a rather general nature. Mantuan's description of the slaughter of the innocents may have furnished directly the principal idea of Marino's *Strage degl'Innocenti*, or the influence may have been transmitted through the intermediary of Sannazaro, who described at length the murder of the Bethlehem babes in his *De Partu Virginis*.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This study of the "Infernal Council" is supplementary to the one which appeared in *Modern Philology*, August, 1918. The author gratefully acknowledges valuable suggestions received from Professors E. H. Wilkins and T. P. Cross, of the University of Chicago, and A. S. Cook, of Yale University, as well as from my colleagues, Professors M. Blakemore Evans and J. A. Leighton.

<sup>2</sup> See the *Eclogues of Baptista Mantuanus*, edited by Wilfred P. Mustard, Baltimore, 1911, pp. 30–34; 36–57; and also Luzio-Renier, "Coltura e relazioni letterarie d'Isabella d'Este," in *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, XXXIV, 67, 68. For Mantuan's influence upon Milton, see Mustard, *op. cit.*, p. 52, and A. S. Cook, in *Modern Language Review* (January, 1907), pp. 121–24.

<sup>3</sup> *Primae Parthenices*, III, 184, a, b. I quote throughout from the edition of Bologna, 1502, slightly normalizing the capitalization and punctuation.

Some of the details of the descriptions in the *Primae Parthenices* were probably imitated also by later writers on the "Infernal Council." For instance, the following account of the complete triumph of the Savior, and the rout of the Egyptian deities, may have afforded suggestions to Sannazaro:

Sicut cum trepidi per caeca silentia fures  
Noctis eunt taciti, vigilantque ad furtar repente,  
Si densas abigat lux improvisa tenebras,  
Diffugiant, lucemque timent, ceduntque diei.<sup>1</sup>

In the lines immediately preceding this passage, and elsewhere, Mantuan displays a certain originality in the detailed account which he gives of the victories of Christ. Earlier writers on the "Infernal Council," from the translators of the *Évangile de Nicodème* to Boccaccio, had been content with rather general statements. For them, it sufficed to say that Satan's wiles were no longer of any avail; that Hell was becoming depopulated, because of the spread of Christianity; and that persons who received baptism were proof against the shafts of the tempter. Mantuan, on the other hand, gives a circumstantial description of the fate of some of the heathen gods, and may thus have influenced Tasso:

Parthenices primo ingressu simulachra per omnem  
Legimus Aegyptum subita cecidisse ruina,  
Et collisa solo. Jacuit resupinus Anubis,  
Cornibus auratis solio ruit Isis ab alto,  
Occidit extemplo luctu quaesitus Osiris. . . .<sup>2</sup>

In the *Secundae Parthenices* the poet describes a council of heathen deities, which may have served to some extent as a pattern for later poets. Jupiter, who is represented as fallen from his ancient glory, deliberates how he may arrest the progress of Christ. After reciting the grievances which he and his fellow-gods have suffered at the hands of the man of Galilee, he makes the comforting prediction that, if the gods can only hold out for a short time, Mohammed will come to the rescue, sweeping a great part of the earth like a whirlwind. Meanwhile, the best expedient, in Jupiter's opinion,

<sup>1</sup> Mantuan, *op. cit.*, p. 185, a. The figure of darkness fleeing before light was a stock one in Virgil. See *Aeneid* x. 256, 257, and this variant of the *Moretum*, v. 13: *Tandem concepito tenebra fulgore recedunt.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

is to send Proserpine to instigate the tyrannical Roman emperor against St. Catherine.

Mantuan, though usually imitating Virgil directly,<sup>1</sup> in this speech seems rather to have followed Claudian, himself a close imitator of Virgil. In the *De Raptu Proserpinæ* Pluto hurls defiance at Jupiter, who has confined him in the lower world:

. . . Tantumne tibi saevissime frater  
In me iuris erit? Sic nobis noxia vires  
Cum caelo Fortuna tulit? Num robur et arma  
Perdidimus, si raptæ dies? An forte iacentes  
Ignavosque putas, quod non Cyclopia tela  
Stringimus aut vacuas tonitru deludimus auras?  
Nonne satis visum, quod grati luminis expers  
Tertia supremæ patior dispendia sortis  
Informesque plagas, cum te laetissimus ornet  
Signifer et vario cingant splendore Triones?<sup>2</sup>

The most important departure which Mantuan makes from his Latin original is to amplify the lines of Claudian which concern the decline of the reputation of the Infernal deities. In Claudian's *In Rufinum* we find only the following:

At nos indecores longo torpebimus aevo  
Omnibus eiectæ regnis?<sup>3</sup>

In the *De Raptu Proserpinæ* the subject is dismissed in these words:

. . . An forte iacentes  
Ignavosque putas. . . .<sup>4</sup>

Mantuan expresses the same sentiment at greater length and without irony, adding that even the women and children are deriding the fallen gods:

Numina quae toto terræ regnastis in orbe,  
Non satis est nostro quod nos Galilæus honore  
Exuit in tantas ausus prorumpere fraudes.  
Non satis est. Pueris etiam contemnimir, omnes  
Nos impune premunt. In nos convicia iactant

<sup>1</sup> W. P. Mustard, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

<sup>2</sup> *De Raptu Proserpinæ*, I, 93–102. I quote here from *C. Claudiani Carmina*, ed. Jeep, Leipzig, 1876.

<sup>3</sup> *In Rufinum*, I, 58, 59.

<sup>4</sup> *De Raptu Proserpinæ*, I, 96, 97.

Caupones, mimique leves, scurraeque loquaces,  
 Falsidicosque vocant. Ergo haec indigna feremus?  
 Nec totiens laesi semel ulciscemur? inertes  
 Sic sumus ut vivos nos non intelligat hostis?  
 Nos periisse putant, defunctaque numina vita  
 Vulgus ait. . . .<sup>1</sup>

Another council of heathen gods is described in Mantuan's poem about St. Apollonia. Here the harangue is delivered by Venus, who stands in the grotto where Aeneas, in company with Dido, had taken refuge from a storm. Mindful of her former triumph on this very spot, the goddess heaps scorn upon the other deities for their abject surrender to Christ:

Quid sopita iacent corda illa ingentia, quondam  
 Coelo, Erebo, terrae, et pelago dominantia, cur nunc  
 Sic oblitera fui? longa fortasse senecta  
 Genua labant? aevo forsan cecidere lacerti?  
 In venis crux intepuit? cum tempore corda  
 Defecere? graves anni minuere cerebrum?<sup>2</sup>

Like Jupiter, Venus declares that the gods have become the laughingstock of women and children:

Vincimus a scortis: pudor est tam grande fateri  
 Dederunt. Illudunt nobis puerique nurusque.  
 Causa mali usque adeo absurdii atque ignominissi  
 Nil nisi de nostro veniens ignavia somno.<sup>3</sup>

She also makes a reference, somewhat briefer than that found in the life of the Virgin Mary, to the extension of Christ's kingdom on earth:

Nil mirum si deserimur, si nostra per orbem  
 Regna infirma labant, si surripere omnia Christus  
 Audeat, et fragiles in nos armare puellas.<sup>4</sup>

It is particularly in the emphasis laid in the speech of Venus upon the valor of the heathen gods that Mantuan paves the way for Tasso and Milton. For this detail the poet probably had no other model than a few lines of Claudian, who represents Pluto as referring

<sup>1</sup> Mantuan, *op. cit.*, p. 193, b.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 237, a.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 237, b.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

briefly to the *vires*, the *robur*, and the *arma* of the demons of Hell, and concluding:

Si dicto parere negas, patefacta ciebo  
Tartara, Saturni veteres laxabo catenas,  
Obducam tenebris solem, compage soluta  
Lucidus umbroso miscebitur axis Averno.<sup>1</sup>

For this appeal to force alone, found in the *De Raptu Proserpinæ*, Mantuan substitutes an appeal to courage:

Tollite praestantes animos: non omnia Christus  
Eripuit. Nostri superest pars maxima regni.  
Nec plus ille potest, sed vos; ut cernere promptum.  
Degeneri ignavoque animo timidi atque fugaces  
Terga datis; superaturi si vertitis ora,  
Si in commune bonum nostra omnia mittimus arma.<sup>2</sup>

According to Mantuan, Venus strengthens her case by alluding to the glorious victory won by Jupiter over the Titans, not through superior force, but through superior valor. Then she continues in the same strain:

Quo pacto Romani orbem nisi grandibus ausis  
Et domuere? tenax curae sententia et alti  
Propositi. Sensones capitolii a vertice Gallos  
Trusit, et obssessae poenos a limine Romae.  
Non erat Alcides Antaeo fortior, Artus  
Cernenti, aut Turno Aeneas, aut Hectore Achilles,  
Aut Tydeus Lycophonte. Animo veniebat ab acri  
Illa potens virtus et inexpugnabile robur.  
Vis igitur revocanda animi. Victoria pendet.  
Ex animo maiora facit qui fortius audet.<sup>3</sup>

## II

Jacopo Sannazaro, in his attempt to give a mythological setting to a scriptural narrative, belongs to the same school of poets as Mantuan. The long prophecy of David concerning the life of the Messiah, which comes in Book I of Sannazaro's *De Partu Virginis* (1526), and which had a very important bearing upon the development of the "Infernal Council," may have been inspired in a general

<sup>1</sup> *De Raptu Proserpinæ*, I, 113-16. I quote here from *Claudii Claudiani Carmina*, ed. Julius Koch, Leipzig, 1893.

<sup>2</sup> Mantuan, *op. cit.*, p. 237, a.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 237, b.

way by certain passages in Mantuan's *Primae Parthenices*, especially by the description of the slaughter of the innocents.<sup>1</sup> In particular, the following passage from this prophecy, which represents the monsters of the deep as slinking away at the approach of the Savior, was probably suggested by a simile in the *Primae Parthenices*:

. . . diffungiant immisso lumine dirae  
Eumenidum facies iactis in terga colubris,  
Quas atro vix in limo Phlegethontis adustum  
Accipiat nemus, et fremanti condat in ulva.  
Tum variae pestes, et monstra horrentia Ditis  
Ima petant. . . .<sup>2</sup>

### III

Torquato Tasso, it will be recalled, introduces an infernal council into the fourth canto of his *Gerusalemme Liberata*. Pluto, who presides over the assembly, is alarmed at the progress which the Christian forces are making in the Holy Land. He accordingly decides to send the fair Armida to work confusion among his enemies. The harangue delivered by Pluto follows the general lines laid down by Boccaccio and Vida—a long bill of grievances against the Creator, the indignation culminating at the thought that the seats of the fallen angels should be promised to mere human beings.

In his description of the infernal council, Tasso follows principally Vida and Claudian. In certain minor respects, however, he may have been influenced by the *Parthenices*. Like Mantuan, he gives a detailed account of the spread of Christianity, and the fall of the pagan idols:

### xiii

e soffirem che forza ognor maggiore  
il suo popol fedele in Asia prenda ?  
e che Giudea soggioghi ? e che 'l suo onore,  
che 'l nome suo più si dilati e stenda ?  
che suoni in altre lingue, e in altri carmi  
si scriva, e incida in novi bronzi e marmi ?

<sup>1</sup> *De Partu Virginis*, I, 24. I quota from the edition of Rome, 1877.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 33. Cf. Mantuan, p. 185, a, cited p. 48, n. 1. A passage which may have served as a model for Milton is quoted here from *De Partu Virginis*, p. 78:

An temere hoc, nullaque actum ratione putatis ?  
Quippe ita mansuras decuit me ponere leges :  
Quo terraeque, polusque, homines Divique vicissim  
Foederibus starent certis, et pignore tanto  
Servarent memorem cognatae stirpis amorem.  
Quare agite, et iam nunc humana capessite fate. . . .

## xiv

Che sian gl' idoli nostri a terra sparsi ?  
 che i nostri altari il mondo a lui converta ?  
 ch' a lui sospesi i voti, a lui sol arsi  
 siano gl' incensi, ed auro e mirra offerta ?  
 ch' ove a noi tempio non soleva serrarsi,  
 or via non resti a l'arti nostre aperta ?<sup>1</sup>

In the emphasis which he lays upon valor as the means to victory, and the reference to the glorious past of the fallen angels, Tasso also follows Mantuan in a general way:

## xv

Ah! non fia ver; ché non son anco estinti  
 gli spiriti in voi di quel valor primiero,  
 quando di ferro e d'alte fiamme cinti  
 pugnammo già contra il celeste impero.  
 Fummo, io no 'l nego, in quel confitto vinti:  
 pur non mancò virtute al gran pensiero.  
 Diede, che che si fosse, a lui vittoria:  
 rimase a noi d'invitto ardir la gloria.<sup>2</sup>

In his descriptions of the features of Satan, and in his invocation of the Muse, Tasso furnished a model to Marino and to Milton:  
 rosseggian gli occhi, e di veneno infetto,  
 come infausta cometa, il guardo splende;<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Gerusalemme Liberata*, IV, 13, 14. I quote from the Pio Spagnotti edition, Milan, 1898. Cf. Mantuan, *op. cit.*, pp. 185, a and 237, b, cited p. 48, n. 2, and p. 51, n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Tasso, *op. cit.*, IV, 15. Cf. Mantuan, *op. cit.*, p. 237, a, b, p. 51, nn. 2 and 3. The last three verses are imitated from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, IX, 5-6:

Nec tam turpe vincit quam contendisse decorum est,  
 Magnaque dat nobis tantus solacia vitor.

See Vincenzo Vivaldi, *La Gerusalemme Liberata Studiata nelle sue fonti (Episodi)* (Trani 1907), p. 30.

<sup>3</sup> *Gerusalemme Liberata*, IV, 7. Tasso's description of Pluto is imitated in part from Claudian's *De Rapiu Proserpinæ*.

Claudian writes:

Ipse rudi fultus solo nigraque verendum  
 Malestate sedet: squalent immania foedo  
 Sceptra situ:—*De Rapiu Proserpinæ*, I, 79-81.

For this, Tasso has:

Siede Pluton nel mezzo, e con la destra  
 sostien lo scettro ruvido e pessante:—*Gerusalemme Liberata*, IV, 6.

Claudian continues:

sublime caput maestissima nubes  
 Asperat et diras riget inclemens formae:  
 Terrorem dolor augebat.—*Op. cit.*, I, 81-83.

Tasso imitates him freely as follows:

né tanto scoglio in mar né rupe alpestra,  
 né pur Calpe s'inalza, o'l magno Atlante,  
 ch'anzì lui non paresse un picciol colle;  
 si la gran fronte e le gran corna estolie.

Orrida maestà nel fero aspetto  
 terrore accresce, e più superbo il rende:—*Op. cit.*, IV, 6, 7.

In his conception of Pluto, however, Tasso has borrowed from other sources. The "gran corna" mentioned in stanza 6 belong probably to the medieval tradition regarding

Ma di' tu, Musa, come i primi danni  
mandassero a' Cristiani, e di quai parti:  
tu 'l sai; e di tant' opra a noi sì lunga  
debil aura di fama a pena giunge.<sup>1</sup>

## IV

Even more important than Mantuan in the development of the "Infernal Council" was Marino, author of the *Strage degl' Innocenti*, a poem by which the author hoped to atone for the faults of the *Adone*. Although the *Strage degl' Innocenti* had no great artistic merit, singularly enough it is still very widely read. Menghini says:

Non v'è umile capanna, in Toscana, nell'Umbria, nel Napolitano, che accanto al poema dei *Reali di Francia*, di *Guerrino il Meschino*, e del *Libro de' Sogni*, non abbia il poema della *Strage degl' Innocenti*. Esso è più comune nelle campagne che non sia la *Gerusalemme* del Tasso. . . .<sup>2</sup>

In England, the poem was greatly admired, and the first canto was translated, under the title of *Sospetto d'Herode*, by Richard Crashaw, "the divine."<sup>3</sup>

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Satan, which differed materially from the classical conception found in Claudian. In Greek and Latin literature, Pluto is regularly represented as an awe-inspiring deity, surrounded by darkness and mystery, and resembling somewhat his brothers Jupiter and Neptune. In the Scriptures, the descriptions of Satan are likewise extremely vague. Even in the apocalyptic literature, despite the dualistic influence of Zoroastrianism, there seems to be nothing more detailed than Revelation, 12:3, where the "great red dragon" is depicted as having seven heads, ten horns, and a monstrous tail. The Middle Ages made of Satan sometimes a monster, sometimes a clown. (See E. K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage* (1903), II, 91, 148. See also M. J. Rudwin, *Die Teufelsszenen im geistlichen Drama des deutschen Mittelalters* (1914), p. 10). Owing to the constant intermingling of pagan mythology with Christian doctrine, it is likely enough that some of Satan's characteristics, including his horns, ears, and feet, are ultimately those of the satyr, rather than of Pluto, or Lucifer, or Beelzebub.

Tasso's portrayal of Pluto's eyes

rosseggian gli occhi, e di veneno infetto,  
come infasta comete, il guardo splende;—*Op. cit.*, IV, 7.

is usually taken to be an imitation of Virgil's description of the serpents:  
ardentisque oculos suffecti sanguine et igni—*Aeneid*, II, 210.

It should be borne in mind that the Middle Ages attributed to Cerberus many of the characteristics of Satan. Dante calls him a "gran vermo" (*Inferno*, ed. Grandgent, 1909, VI, 22), just as he calls Lucifer a "vermo reo" (*ibid.*, XXXIV, vs. 108). If Cerberus has three heads, so has Lucifer three faces (*ibid.*, XXXIV, vs. 38). Dante says of Cerberus:

Gli occhi ha vermigli, la barba unta ed atra,  
E il ventre largo, e unghiate le mani;—*Ibid.*, VI, vss. 16-17.

which may be compared with the lines just cited from Tasso, as well as the continuation:  
gli'involve il mento, e su l'irsuto petto  
ispida e folta la gran barba scende;—Tasso, *op. cit.*, IV, 7.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 19.

<sup>2</sup> Mario Menghini, *La vita e le opere di Giambattista Marino* (Rome, 1888), p. 280.

<sup>3</sup> Published 1646.

The *Strage degl'Innocenti* opens with an infernal council. Pluto, who is frightened because of the birth of Jesus, deliberates with his minions. He recites his grievances against the Almighty, the climax being the fact that God should make men, mere "limo terrestre," superior to immortal, though rebellious, angels. It is decided to warn King Herod of the danger to paganism, and the result is the slaughter of the innocents.

Marino, although considering Tasso as a rival,<sup>1</sup> nevertheless pays him the compliment of taking him as the chief model for his description of the infernal council. He desires, however, to improve on his model, after his own manner. Marino's notion of improvement may be judged by the fact that he boasted that his *Adone* was longer than either the *Gerusalemme Liberata* or the *Orlando Furioso*.<sup>2</sup> It was characteristic, therefore, that he should try to excel Tasso by the length of his descriptions. For instance, in Canto IV of the *Gerusalemme Liberata*, Tasso had given the following rather modest list of demons to be found in Hell:

Arpie, Centauri, Sfingi, Gorgoni, Scille, Idre, Pitoni, Chimere, Polifemi, and Gerfoni.<sup>3</sup>

Marino, not to be outdone, enumerates thus the population of the lower world:

Arpie, Fame, Erisitton, Tantalo, Progne, Atreo, Licaone, Medusa, Eumenidi, Iezabelle, Scilla, Circe, Medea, Parche, Minotauri, Ciclopi, Draghi,

<sup>1</sup> Menghini, *op. cit.*, p. 280.

In certain minor details of his infernal council, Marino apparently was influenced slightly by Vida, author of the *Christiad*. The address of Pluto, in the *Christiad*, begins with a reminder of past injuries:

quae praelia toto  
Egerimus coelo, quibus olim denique utrimque  
Sit certatum oditis, notum et meminisse necesse est

*—Christiad*, I, 171 ff.

(I quote from the edition of London, 1732.) Marino, too, represents Pluto as remembering the battles of yore:

Membra l'alta cagion de' gran conflitti,  
Esca, ch'accese in ciel tante faville.  
E mentre pensa, e teme, e si ricorda,  
L'andate cose à le presenti accorda

*—Strage degl'Innocenti*, p. 5.

(I quote from the edition of Rome, 1633.)

Marino doubtless derived some suggestions also from Sannazaro, for whom he felt such an admiration that he used to visit his tomb every week. (Antonio Belloni, *Il Seicento*, in *Storia letteraria d'Italia scritta da una società di professori*, p. 64.) The slaughter of the innocents had already been described in some detail, it will be recalled, in Sannazaro's *De Partu Virginis*. (*De Partu Virginis*, I, 24.)

<sup>2</sup> Menghini, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

<sup>3</sup> *Gerusalemme Liberata*, IV, 5.

Tigri, Sfingi, Hiene, Ceraste, Hidre, Chimere, Mezzentio, Gerione, Ezzellino, Falari, Nerone, Nabucco, Acabbe, Faraone, di Diomede i destrier, di Fereo i cani, di Therodamante i leoni, etc.<sup>1</sup>

Sometimes Marino is more happy in expanding the passages found in the works of predecessors. For example, Tasso makes a comparatively brief allusion to the former splendor of Pluto:

Ed in vece del dí sereno e puro,  
de l'aureo sol, de gli stellati giri,  
n' ha qui rinchiusi in questo abisso oscuro;  
né vuol ch'al primo onor per noi s'aspiri. . . .<sup>2</sup>

Marino has in one passage:

Misero, e come il tuo splendor primiero  
Perdesti, ò già di luce Angel più bello!<sup>3</sup>

In another passage he has:

Ah non se' tu la creatura bella,  
Principe già de' fulgoranti Amori,  
Del mattutino Ciel la prima stella,  
La prima luce de gli alati Chori?  
Che come suol la candida facella  
Scintillar fra le lampadi minori,  
Così ricco di lumi alti celesti  
Frà la plebe de gli Angeli splendesti.<sup>4</sup>

In such passages as the foregoing we may observe the really notable contribution which Marino made to the development of the "Infernal Council." For Vida and Tasso, Pluto was nothing more than a monster, hardly distinguishable from the other hideous creatures who moved at his beck. When he spoke to his minions,

<sup>1</sup> *Strage degl'Innocenti*, pp. 15, 16.

<sup>2</sup> *Gerusalemme Liberata*, IV. 10.

<sup>3</sup> *Strage degl'Innocenti*, p. 4.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11. The descriptions of Satan and his demons here studied have nothing in common with those found in the pre-Renaissance devil-plays of Germany and other countries. Special mention might be made, however, of the famous Reformation play by Naogeorg (Kirchmayer), the *Pammachius*, which, printed in 1538, appeared rapidly in various translations, and was performed in Christ's College (March, 1545). (See Charles H. Herford, *Studies in the Literary Relations of England and Germany in the Sixteenth Century* [1886], p. 129.) The classical influence which was to manifest itself in Naogeorg's *Agricultura Sacra* (1550), a bizarre imitation of Vergil's *Georgics*, is observable also in the *Pammachius*. (Cf., e.g., vss. 1958-66, in Act II, Scene 3, with Claudian's *In Rufinum*, I, 58-59, and *De Raptu Proserpinæ*, I, 95-98.) Naogeorg, departing both from the classical and from the Christian traditions, represents Satan as a man of the world, with a sense of humor. (Cf. Herford, *op. cit.*, p. 126, n. 1.) For his description of the physical appearance of Satan, however, he adheres closely to the Christian tradition. (See Act II, Scene 4, the opening speech.)

he did so impersonally. The subject was always "our" woes, "our" exploits, "our" courage. Marino makes Pluto an individual character.

Not only does Marino give a beautiful description of Pluto's former glory; he also describes some of his features. For Tasso, Pluto's eyes had been merely horrible—filled with poison and blazing like comets. Marino sees in them the expression of a soul, haunted with sad memories:

Negli occhi, ove mestitia alberga, e morte. . . .<sup>1</sup>

In his appeal to his minions to remember their famous exploits of the past, the Pluto of Marino boasts of his own "alta natura," of the former "candor" by which he was formerly distinguished, of his indomitable will:

Ma qual forza tem' io? già non perdei  
Con l'antico candor l'alta natura.  
Armisi il mondo, e 'l Ciel; de cenni miei  
Gli elementi, e le stelle hauran paura.<sup>2</sup>  
Son qual fui; fia che può; come potrei  
Se non curo il fattor, curar fattura?  
S'armi Dio, che farà? vò quella guerra,  
Che non mi lice in Ciel, movergli in terra.<sup>3</sup>

The following lines are modeled in part on the *Gerusalemme Liberata*. From the impersonal narrative of Tasso, however—

<sup>1</sup> *Strage degl'Innocenti*, p. 3. Cf. *Gerusalemme Liberata*, IV, 7, cited p. 53, n. 3. Marino's description of Satan's former splendor was perhaps suggested by Tasso's:

e'n viso orrendo,  
Mutata quella chiara antica fronte?

*—Gerusalemme Conquistata*, V, 12.

<sup>2</sup> Marino imitates Claudian. Cf. *De Raptu Proserpinas*, I, 113–16, cited p. 51, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Strage degl'Innocenti*, p. 12. Cf. *Gerusalemme Liberata*, IV, 13 and 15, cited p. 53, nn. 1 and 2. Since Taine, it has been the fashion to consider the character of Satan, the hero of *Paradise Lost*, as the original creation of Milton. (H. Taine, *Histoire de la littérature anglaise* [1892], II, 505.) Taine maintains that Milton's Satan was essentially the product of British civilization: "Cet hérosâme sombre, cette dure obstination, cette poignante ironie, ces bras orgueilleux et roidis qui serrent la douleur comme une maîtresse, cette concentration du courage invaincu qui, replié en lui-même, trouve tout en lui-même, cette puissance de passion et cet empire sur la passion sont des traits propres du caractère anglais comme de la littérature anglaise ..." (*ibid.*, II, 506–7). It may be of interest to note that the "Cavalier" Marino was readily able to portray in his Pluto many of the "British" traits of the Satan of the Puritan Milton. In fact, the same "British" pride and obstinacy are exemplified in some of Milton's classical models, such as the Prometheus of Aeschylus, and the Pluto of Claudian. The stoical qualities of this "British" Satan may be observed also in the Capaneo of Dante, a character somewhat influenced, perhaps, by Thomas Aquinas' conception of the devil as a being full of pride and envy, who desired to be as God.

"pugnammo," "fummo vinti," etc.—Marino passes to a personal narrative of Pluto's daring adventure:

I' no 'l soffersi, e d'Aquilon le cime  
 Salsi, oue d'Angel mai volo non passa.  
 E se quindi il mio stuol vinto cadeo,  
 Il tentar l'alte imprese è pur trofeo.<sup>1</sup>

Continuing the same personal note, Marino represents Pluto as apostrophizing himself, and asserting categorically that, being ruler of Hell, he is on a par with the Father, ruler of Heaven:

Nè perc' hoggi quaggiù t'accoglia, e copra  
 Ombroso albergo, e ferruggineo tetto,  
 Men superbir dei tù; che, se là sopra  
 Al Monarca tonante eri soggetto,  
 Qui siedi Rè, che libero, & intero  
 Hai de la Terra, e del'Abisso impero.<sup>2</sup>

Marino alters even the invocation to the Muse, which he had found in the *Gerusalemme Liberata*, so that it centers around Pluto. The revealing Muse, in fact, is almost eliminated altogether, being replaced by a very impersonal "gran libro," over which the majestic figure of Pluto bends, as he puzzles out the meaning of the fateful old writings. Then follows a full page of mysterious things, which Pluto expects the "gran libro" to reveal to him:

Onde creder non vuol del gran mistero  
 La meraviglia, à i chiari ingegni ascosa.  
 Come possa il suo fiore hauere intero;  
 Sì che Vergine sia Donna, ch' è sposa.  
 E poi, che 'l vero Dio divenga huom vero  
 Strano gli sembra, e non possibil cosa.  
 Che lo spirto s'incarni, e che vestita  
 Gir di spoglia mortal deggia la vita.

. . . . .

<sup>1</sup> *Strage degl'Innocenti*, p. 10. Cf. *Gerusalemme Liberata*, IV, 15, cited p. 53, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Strage degl'Innocenti*, p. 12. In this passage, as elsewhere, Marino manifests his fondness for contrasts, which often take almost an epigrammatical form and which serve as a model for Milton. The following couplet contains two typical antitheses:

Se l'Inferno si lagna, il Ciel non goda.  
 Se la forza non val, vagilla la froda

—*Strage degl'Innocenti*, p. 11.

Marino's

Qui siedi Re, che libero, & intero  
 Hai de la Terra, e del' Abisso impero

is apparently imitated from Tasso's

E'n questo tenebroso orror profondo,  
 Quasi lo pareggio il Cielo, e muovo il mondo.

—*Gerusalemme Conquistata*, V, 15.

Che l'incompreso, & inuisibil lume  
 Si rivelà pastor, mentre, che nasce;  
 Che l'Infinito Onnipotente Nume  
 Fatto sia prigionier di poche fasce; etc.<sup>1</sup>

For another passage, describing the same Promethean spirit of Pluto, the translation of Crashaw seems somewhat closer to *Paradise Lost* than the version of Marino:

He shooke himselfe, and spread his spatiuous wings:  
 Which like two Bosom'd sailes embrace the dimme  
 Aire, with a dismal shade, but all in vaine,  
 Of sturdy adamant is his strong chaine.<sup>2</sup>

Marino's text reads:

Scotesi, e per volar dibatte l'ali,  
 Che 'n guisa hà pur di due gran vele aperte,  
 Ma 'l duro fren, che l'incatena, e fascia,  
 Da l'eterna prigion partir no 'l lascia.<sup>3</sup>

Not only in the personal, defiant tone which he adds to the character of Satan, but also in his descriptions of Herod's throne, and of the pompous gifts which the Orient was wont to lavish upon its rulers, Marino may have influenced Milton in his conception of the archfiend:

Sù 'l trono principal, del regio arnese  
 Pompa maggiore, e meraviglia prima,  
 Lo qual del Rè pacifico, e cortese  
 Edifioio mirabile si stima;  
 Immantenente il fier Tiranno ascese,  
 Gli altri intorno sedenti, & egli in cima.  
 Il sedil, ch'egli preme eletto, e fino  
 Forma hà di core, e 'l core è di rubino.<sup>4</sup>

• • • • •  
 Il pauimento, ou' ei posa le piante  
 Tutto di drappi d'or rigido splende.  
 Di varie gemme lucida, e stellante  
 Ombrella imperial soura gli pende.<sup>5</sup>

• • • • •  
 Vidi Regi stranieri, e peregrini  
 Ricco recargli oriental tributo;<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Strange degl' Innocenti*, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Richard Crashaw, *Steps to the Temple, Delights of the Muses, and other Poems*, edited by A. R. Waller, Cambridge, 1904, p. 94.

<sup>3</sup> *Strange degl' Innocenti*, p. 7.      <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 24.      <sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 25.      <sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 26.

## V

The indebtedness of Milton to other writers on the "Infernal Council" is often hard to trace, because it was the poet's practice, after borrowing a general idea from one writer, to fill in the details from his remarkable acquaintance with classical literature. His imitation of Tasso and Sannazaro, in the lines quoted below, is a case in point:

Instruct me, for Thou know'st; Thou from the first  
 Wast present, and, with mighty wings outspread,  
 Dove-like sat'st brooding on the vast Abyss,  
 And mad'st it pregnant: what in me is dark  
 Illumine, what is low raise and support;  
 That, to the highth of this great argument,  
 I may assert Eternal Providence,  
 And justify the ways of God to men.<sup>1</sup>

The opening line of this passage seems to be modeled on Tasso's invocation to the Muse:

tu 'l sai . . .<sup>2</sup>

Here, however, the imitation of Tasso is confined to this detail. In the *Gerusalemme Liberata* the matter which the Muse is to disclose is the difficulties encountered by the Christians who are before Jerusalem. In *Paradise Lost*, as in the *De Partu Virginis*, the matter to be explained is the reasonableness of the ways of God with men. Sannazaro represents the Father as asking:

An temere hoc, nullaque actum ratione putatis?

Milton parallels this rhetorical question as follows:

And justify the ways of God to men.<sup>3</sup>

Milton's invocation to the Muse bears, at the same time, a general resemblance to the passage in the *Strage degl'Innocenti* where Pluto is represented as a harassed deity, trying to comprehend the mysterious ways of Providence.<sup>4</sup> Milton parallels the mysteries

<sup>1</sup> *Paradise Lost*, I, 19-26. Cf. *De Partu Virginis*, p. 78, cited p. 52, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Gerusalemme Liberata*, IV, 19, cited p. 54, n. 1. Passage quoted by Rev. Henry J. Todd.

<sup>3</sup> *Paradise Lost*, I, 26.

<sup>4</sup> For the obligations of Milton to Marino, see Marianna Woodhull, *The Epic of Paradise Lost* (New York, 1907), pp. 238, 239. Cf. Rev. Henry J. Todd, *The Poetical Works of John Milton* (London, 1809), especially the Introduction.

of the immaculate conception, etc., with which the Neapolitan poet is concerned, by the mystery of the Creation:

Say first—for Heaven hides nothing from thy view,  
Nor the deep tract of Hell—say first what cause  
Moved our grand Parents, in that happy state,  
Favoured of Heaven so highly, to fall off  
From their Creator, and transgress his will  
For one restraint, lords of the World besides.  
Who first seduced them to that foul revolt?<sup>1</sup>

There is also a slight resemblance of phraseology between Milton's

. . . . what in me is dark  
Illumine. . . .<sup>2</sup>

and Marino's

*La meraviglia, à i chiari ingegni ascosa.*

Milton's indebtedness to Marino extends to a matter of greater importance. Adopting Marino's idea of making Satan a real person with almost human passions, in place of the impersonal ruler described by Vida and Tasso, Milton represents the archfiend as boasting:

Yet not for those,  
Nor what the potent Victor in his rage  
Can else inflict, do I repent, or change,  
Though changed in outward lustre, that fixed mind,  
And high disdain from sense of injured merit,  
That with the Mightiest raised me to contend,  
And to the fierce contention brought along  
Innumerable force of Spirits armed,  
That durst dislike his reign, and, me preferring,  
His utmost power with adverse power opposed  
In dubious battle on the plains of Heaven,  
And shook his throne.<sup>3</sup>

There is no equivalent here for Marino's

*Il tentar l'alte imprese è pur trofeo,*

<sup>1</sup> *Paradise Lost*, I, 27–33. Cf. *Strange degl'Innocenti*, p. 8, cited p. 59, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Paradise Lost*, I, 22, 23.

<sup>3</sup> *Paradise Lost*, I, 94–105. Cf. *Strange degl'Innocenti*, p. 10, beginning with "I'no 'l soffersi, e d'Aquilon le cima," cited p. 58, n. 1. Satan resembles only vaguely the Capaneo of the *Inferno*, XIV, 51–60.

but Milton imitates it in another place:

—and that strife

Was not inglorious, though the event was dire.<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand, Milton's

Nor . . . do I repent, or change,  
Though changed in outward lustre, that fixed mind,  
And high disdain . . .

is doubtless imitated from another passage in the *Strange degl'Innocenti*:

. . . già non perdei  
Con l'antico candor l'alta natura.<sup>2</sup>

For two descriptions of Satan, Milton appears to have gone to Marino. The first reads:

“If thou beest he—but Oh how fallen! how changed  
From him!—who, in the happy realms of light,  
Clothed with transcendent brightness, didst outshine  
Myriads, though bright—”<sup>3</sup>

There is also a certain resemblance between the descriptions of Satan's eyes found in *Paradise Lost* and in the *Strange degl'Innocenti*. Milton writes:

. . . round he throws his baleful eyes,  
That witnessed huge affliction and dismay,  
Mixed with obdurate pride and steadfast hate.<sup>4</sup>

The “affliction and dismay” in the eyes of tormented Satan are of a piece with the “mestitia e morte” which Marino describes.

Milton's

. . . for now the thought  
Both of lost happiness and lasting pain  
Torments him . . .<sup>5</sup>

was probably suggested to some extent by Crashaw's translation:

While the reflection of thy forepast joys,  
Renders thee double to thy present woes.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Paradise Lost*, I, 623–24.

<sup>2</sup> *Strange degl'Innocenti*, p. 12, cited p. 57, n. 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Paradise Lost*, I, 84–87. Cf. *Strange degl'Innocenti*, I, 4,11: “Misero, e come il tuo splendor primiero, etc.” p. 56, and “Ah non se' tu la creatura bella, etc.” p. 56.

<sup>4</sup> *Paradise Lost*, I, 56–58. Cf. *Strange degl'Innocenti*, p. 3, cited p. 57, n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> *Paradise Lost*, I, 54–56.

<sup>6</sup> Richard Crashaw, *op. cit.*, p. 98, stanza 31.

There is also a certain similarity between Milton's

..... there to dwell

In adamantine chains and penal fire . . . .<sup>1</sup>

and Crawshaw's couplet:

..... but all in vaine;  
Of sturdy adamant is his strong chaine.<sup>2</sup>

For his descriptions of Satan's throne, Milton probably derived suggestions from a number of other poets, notably Spenser. He may also have imitated to some extent the description of Herod's palace, found in the *Strage degl' Innocenti*. Book II of *Paradise Lost* opens as follows:

High on a throne of royal state, which far  
Outshone the wealth of Ormus and of Ind,  
Or where the gorgeous East with richest hand  
Showers on her kings barbaric pearl and gold,  
Satan exalted sat, by merit raised  
To that bad eminence. . . .<sup>3</sup>

Milton's

Or where the gorgeous East with richest hand  
Showers on her kings barbaric pearl and gold,

resembles especially Marino's lines

Vidi Regi stranieri, e peregrini  
Ricco recargli oriental tributo, . . .<sup>4</sup>

The antitheses of which Marino was so fond apparently found favor with Milton. Marino writes:

Se l'Inferno si lagna, il Ciel non goda.  
Se la forza non val, vaglia la froda.<sup>5</sup>

Milton parallels these lines in two passages. In the first, imitating freely, he writes:

We may with more successful hope resolve  
To wage, by force or guile, eternal war.<sup>6</sup>

In the second he follows Marino somewhat more closely:

..... our better part remains  
To work in close design, by fraud or guile,  
What force effected not. . .<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Paradise Lost*, I, 47, 48.

<sup>2</sup> Richard Crashaw, *op. cit.*, p. 94, stanza 18.

<sup>3</sup> *Strage degl' Innocenti*, pp. 24, 25, 26, cited p. 59.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 26.

<sup>6</sup> *Paradise Lost*, I, 120, 121.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11, cited p. 58, n. 2.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 645 ff. Cited by Todd.

For the lines quoted below, Milton had several models, including Fletcher, but may also have had Marino in mind:

. . . Here at least

We shall be free; the Almighty hath not built  
Here for his envy, will not drive us hence:  
Here we may reign secure; and, in my choice,  
To reign is worth ambition, though in Hell:  
Better to reign in Hell than serve in Heaven.<sup>1</sup>

To summarize: The infernal councils in Mantuan's *Parthenices* helped to establish a poetic tradition. The ideas which Mantuan emphasizes in the speeches of the heathen deities, are chiefly the decline in the reputation of the gods, the phenomenal spread of Christianity, and the possibility of a victory through valor. These motifs find their echo in the *Gerusalemme Liberata*. Sannazaro may have derived a few hints from Mantuan, in his descriptions of the retreating monsters of Hell, and of the slaughter of the innocents. Marino owes more to Tasso than to any other of his predecessors. He accepts the tradition which had come through Tasso from Mantuan, the idea that victory for Pluto's forces was possible through valor. Marino's principal contributions to the development of the "Infernal Council" were: (1) splendid pictures of Pluto's former glory; of his flaming eyes, which are not merely horrible and poisonous, as Tasso describes them, but expressive of sadness and woe; of his magnificent throne, and of the lavish tribute which the Orient was wont to shower upon its Kings; (2) a personal note in the language of Pluto, who is represented as referring constantly to himself in the first person, and boasting of his individual exploits. In addition, Marino had a certain gift for striking antitheses, which attracted the favorable attention of Milton. Milton follows Marino most closely in the passages dealing with the personality of Satan. To Sannazaro Milton was indebted for the principal idea of the invocation to the Muse. Whether Milton went directly to Mantuan for certain features of his "Infernal Council" is a matter of conjecture, although it is certain that he was familiar with the *Parthenices*, and imitated them rather closely in his *Ode on the Morning of Christ's Nativity*.

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 258-63. Cf. *Strage degl'Innocenti*, I, p. 12: "Men superbis dei tū, etc." cited p. 58.

## FOREIGN POLITICS IN AN OLD PLAY

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It is natural that an Elizabethan play on Richard III should conclude with praise of the House of Tudor for bringing civil war to an end and establishing a legitimate royal line. Such is the epilogue of Legge's *Richardus Tertius* and such are the closing speeches of the *True Tragedy of Richard the Third*. In the English play, however, to the general eulogy of Elizabeth there have been added certain allusions to specific contemporary events, which are not unworthy of notice.

The last speech in the *True Tragedy* is as follows:

Worthy Elizabeth, a mirror in her age, by whose wise life, and civil government, her country was defended from the cruelty of famine, fire and sword, war's fearful messengers.

This is the Queen as writers truly say,  
That God had marked down to live for aye.  
Then happy England mongst thy neighbor isles,  
For peace and plenty still attends on thee:  
And all the favorable Planets smiles  
To see thee live in such prosperity.  
She is the lamp that keeps fair England's light,  
And through her faith her country lives in peace:  
And she hath put proud Antichrist to flight,  
And been the means that civil wars did cease.  
Then England kneel upon thy hairy knee,  
And thank that God that still provides for thee.  
The Turk admires to hear her government,  
And babies in Jewry sound her princely name,  
All Christian Princes to that Prince hath sent,  
After her rule was rumored forth by fame.  
The Turk hath sworn never to lift his hand,  
To wrong the Princess of this blessed land.  
'Twere vain to tell the care this Queen hath had,  
In helping those that were opprest by war:  
And how her Majesty hath still been glad,  
When she hath heard of peace proclaim'd from far.  
*Geneva, France, and Flanders* hath set down,

The good she hath done, since she came to the crown,  
 For which, if e'er her life be ta'en away,  
 God grant her soul may live in heaven for aye.  
 For if her Grace's days be brought to end,  
 Your hope is gone, on whom did peace depend.<sup>1</sup>

This passage was obviously written to be spoken before Elizabeth. The date must lie between the performance of December 26, 1591, after which the Queen's men, to whom the piece belonged, ceased for three years to act at court, and December 26, 1588, their first performance after the defeat of the Spanish Armada, an event indicated in the line, "She hath put proud Antichrist to flight," while the public religious observances officially proclaimed throughout the land in November are alluded to in the couplet that follows: "Then England kneel upon thy hairy knee, etc."<sup>2</sup> The congratulations sent to Elizabeth after her victory seem to be the subject-matter of the lines

All Christian Princes to that Prince hath sent,  
 After her rule was rumored forth by fame.

Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian ambassador in France, writing to the Senate, December 20, 1588, says: "Her reputation with all the northern powers stands so high that there is no fear of her lacking forces sufficient to further her designs against Spain."<sup>3</sup> The coincidence is striking, for anyone familiar with the documents of the time will be aware that "Christian Princes" means "Protestant Princes." Only four of these congratulatory messages are preserved by Rymer,<sup>4</sup> two being as late as 1590, but they must have been numerous.<sup>5</sup>

The predominance of other matters over this great victory, however, makes it highly improbable that the passage under

<sup>1</sup> Furness, *Variorum Shakespeare*, "Richard III," p. 548. Here, and in all quotations, the old spelling is not retained.

<sup>2</sup> On November 3 there was an order of Council to both Canterbury and York for public and general thanks for the overthrow of the Spaniards. *Acts of Privy Council*, XVI, 334.

<sup>3</sup> *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian*, 1588, p. 419.

<sup>4</sup> Rymer, *Foedera*, XVI, 18, 20, 34, 56.

<sup>5</sup> Harborne brought some from Germany. *Hakluyt*, VI, 58-59.

consideration belongs to the Armada year. Sufficient time must have elapsed for the first enthusiasm to lose some of its flame. Other considerations, moreover, confirm this judgment; for, while most of the matters alluded to in the speech might individually be assigned to various years, they point in combination to the close of 1589; and the Queen's men played at court on December 26 of that year.

Probably the most prominent feature of the praise of Elizabeth contained in the speech is its insistence on the friendly relations of England and Turkey. Harborne, the English ambassador at Constantinople, returning through Poland and Germany, had reached London in December, 1588. By the use of every sort of diplomatic expedient, he had overcome the active opposition of France and Venice, and raised the prestige of Elizabeth at the Porte to the highest point.<sup>1</sup> At first his difficulties were enormous. Birch says under the year 1583,

The Grand Signior did until of late think that her majesty was but a princess subject to or depending upon the French; but being now sufficiently made acquainted with her greatness both by sea and land . . . hath therefore granted very large privileges and freedoms unto her majesty's subjects, greater than unto the French; hath written more lowly and friendly to her than to any other prince.<sup>2</sup>

Indeed, while Harborne had to employ all his ingenuity at first to keep himself from being expelled at the instance of France and Venice, his successor, Barton, was able on August 4, 1590, to get the French ambassador dismissed and to have French affairs for a time put in his own hands. Although the first privileges for English merchants had been obtained in 1579 and there had been thereafter a considerable correspondence between the Porte and the Queen, the turning-point for the English ambassador was 1586, when Elizabeth accepted the protectorate of Flanders, this act being represented to the Turks by Harborne as the seizure by his mistress from the king of Spain of two of his richest provinces.<sup>3</sup> A number of agreements in favor of England were made by the Turks, and various letters were dispatched to Elizabeth. One of these

<sup>1</sup> See various entries in the *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian, 1581-91*.

<sup>2</sup> *Memoirs of the Reign of Elisabeth*, I, 56.

<sup>3</sup> *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian, 1581-91*, document 330.

that seems particularly to fit the present situation was addressed to her by Armurath III on September 15, 1589.<sup>1</sup> It begins:

Most Honorable Matron of the Christian Religion, Mirror of Chastity, adorned with the Brightness of Sovereignty and Power amongst the most chaste Women of the People which serve Jesus, Mistress of Great Kingdoms, reputed of Greatest Majesty and Praise among the Nazarites, Elizabeth Queen of England, to whom we wish a most happy and prosperous reign.

And it concludes,

Wherefore, if you shall sincerely and purely continue the bond of Amity and Friendship with our high Court, you shall find no more secure Refuge or safer Harbor of good Will or Love.

This letter, of course, the writer of the play may or may not have seen. What he unquestionably had before him was the first edition of Hakluyt's *Voyages*, published by Christopher Barker, printer to the Queen's most excellent Majesty, in 1589, the dedicatory letter to Walsingham being dated November 19, and the latest matter included in the volume being a letter from Bristol of September 10. Of the three parts into which the work is divided, the first treats of the Orient, and documents 16-35 deal with contemporary affairs in the Turkish dominions. Here is the letter sent from the Imperial Musselmanlike Highness, Zuldan Murad Chan, to the sacred regal Majesty of Elizabeth, Queen of England, March 15, 1579, and her answer of October 25; here is the Turkish charter of privileges to the English, of June, 1580, in which we read, "We have contracted an inviolable amity, peace and league with the aforesaid Queen"; here are many pages of passports, diplomatic correspondence, commissions, and reports, such as are found in neither of the other two divisions of the book, and therefore attracted the eye of the playwright as matter redounding to the Queen's credit.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, Hakluyt himself had emphasized this point in the "Epistle Dedicatory," with the query, "Who ever saw before this regiment an English Ligier in the stately porch of the Grand Signor at Constantinople?" Here, then, we find the prime cause of our playwright's insistence upon the friendship of the Turk as one of the glories of Elizabeth.

<sup>1</sup> Richard Knolles, *The Turkish History* (1687) I, 708.

<sup>2</sup> The most important of these documents, but not all of them, are published in the second edition. Naturally there are also many additional pieces.

After the summer of 1590 there could hardly have failed to be reference to the celebrated letter of Eder Bassia (June 26) in which Elizabeth is told that the sultan, although he had rejected the king of Poland's appeal for peace, had at the intercession of the Queen reconsidered the matter, and for her sake "exhibited this so singular a favor unto the said king and kingdom of Poland." The incident was notorious at the time; it is reported by the Venetian ambassador, also by Camden and others, and the letter was published in the second edition of *Hakluyt*.<sup>1</sup> By 1593 Elizabeth feels it necessary to refute accusations of alliance with the Turks against Christians, excuses echoed by *Hakluyt* in 1599.<sup>2</sup>

Diligent search has failed to connect the "babies in Jewry" with any specific act of Elizabeth. The phrase seems to be a vague expression for the grandeur of the Queen, based perhaps on the claim of Murad in his charter to the English merchants that he is "Emperor of the most glorious and blessed Jerusalem." This explanation is suggested by the juxtaposition of the phrases:

The Turk admires to hear her government,  
And babies in Jewry sound her princely name.

Next to the Turk, the most pervasive notion in the speech is its insistence on peace, four times repeated. The peace that follows civil war is a natural enough thought at the close of a play on this subject; even *Richardus Tertius* ends with a song in honor of the Queen as uniting the Houses of Lancaster and York. But in the present passage it is not only domestic peace which is celebrated, but that "proclaimed from far." There is plainly a political import not found in the Latin play. The conflict between the peace party and the war party at Elizabeth's court is well known, and also the Queen's usual desire to avoid costly foreign complications. At the close of the year 1589 she was especially so disposed. The unfortunate expedition to Portugal of the preceding summer, "the greatest privateering enterprise" of modern times, had filled her with wrath. She had lost her large investment in this joint-stock enterprise, besides men and supplies. Burleigh's temporizing

<sup>1</sup> See Rymer, XVI, 74; *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian*, 1581-91, p. 494; *Hakluyt*, VI, 69; Camden, p. 441.

<sup>2</sup> Camden, p. 473; *Hakluyt*, I, lxix-lxx.

policy was in the ascendant. There is, indeed, no other period between 1588 and 1591 in which we find this same condition, for on January 2, 1590, letters were sent to the Lords Lieutenants of all the counties, to put musters in readiness in anticipation of a Spanish invasion in the spring or summer,<sup>1</sup> and on March 15 the Lord Treasurer issued "a great plan for the muster and mobilization of troops all over England."<sup>2</sup>

Elizabeth's help to those oppressed by war is too indefinite for any bearing on date, and the good done to Flanders was too frequently "set down" to afford any fixed point. The same is true of Geneva, "the nursery of the reformed religion," for whose aid money collections began early in the eighties and continued at least as late as 1602; for which assistance numerous letters of thanks were received.<sup>3</sup> One such letter, acknowledging the Queen's frequent, great and liberal beneficence," was indeed sent by the Syndics August 23, 1589, but it cannot in itself be considered a basis for fixing a date for the play.

Though Geneva and Flanders thus furnish only vague indications, France is more specific. Any such recognition of English help must have been subsequent to the death of Henry III, August 2, 1589. To Henry of Navarre, who thereupon became king, Elizabeth sent money and supplies. On September 9 the Privy Council was preparing assistance for the French king, and a levy of 4,000 men was ordered. Thereafter at every meeting during the month and sporadically during the remainder of the year, the Council was largely occupied with this expedition to France.<sup>4</sup> Stow (1589) complains of ingratitude: "Neither doth any French chronicler truly express or acknowledge the Queen of England's especial favors, manifold great expenses of money, and waste of her people, directly employed in this needful service, although the king with his own mouth hath divers times acknowledged it."<sup>5</sup> The king's thanks,

<sup>1</sup> *Acts of Privy Council*, XVIII, 294-97.

<sup>2</sup> Hume, *The Great Lord Burghley*, p. 444.

<sup>3</sup> Many of these are to be found in the *Calendars of State Papers*; see also Strype's *Annals*, Vol. III.

<sup>4</sup> *Acts of the Privy Council*, XVIII, 86 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Annals*, p. 757.

indeed, were expressed to Elizabeth in letters written, one by Peregrine Willoughby, commander of the expedition, October 2, 1589, another by D'Aumont, October 21, still another signed Henri de Bourbon, and finally one by the king as king, neither of these last being dated, though belonging to 1589.<sup>1</sup> On January 2, 1590, preparations were made for the recall of the army under Lord Willoughby,<sup>2</sup> and in February began the recriminations between Henry and Elizabeth which put the Queen into an angry mood. In this case, again, the end of 1589 is indicated.

The records show that the Queen's men acted at court December 26, 1589.<sup>3</sup> Was not the *True Tragedy of Richard III* the play then performed? While, as we have seen, no one incident referred to in the final speech is really sufficient to date the piece, the combined evidence, particularly that derived from the allusions to Turkey and France, points directly to that performance. Of far greater interest than the exact date, however, is the amount of political information possessed by the author. The person who penned that final speech was either especially familiar with foreign affairs, or he had been exceedingly well coached.

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<sup>1</sup> Rymer, *Foedera*, XVI, 26-29.

<sup>2</sup> *Acts of Privy Council*, XVIII, 291-94.

<sup>3</sup> Greg, *Henslowe's Diary*, II, 336. Their next performance was March 1, 1590.



## LOS GALLEGOS EN LAS “NOVELAS EJEMPLARES”

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En la nota 55 de su edición de *Rinconete y Cortadillo* (Sevilla, 1905, pág. 370) el Señor Rodríguez Marín dice:

En el borrador del *Rinconete* este muchacho no era *asturiano*, sino *gallego*. ¿A qué pudo deberse tal cambio? No lo sé; pero recordando que también dejaron de ser *gallegos* los harrieros que en el capítulo XV de la primera edición de *El Ingenioso Hidalgo* molieron á D. Quijote y á Sancho, para convertirse en *yangüeses* en la segunda edición, paréceme que hay en lo uno y en lo otro algún intríngulis, quizás quizás relacionado con lo de ser gallega, por los apellidos Cervantes, Saavedra, Sotomayor y Figueroa la ascendencia remota del egregio novelista.

En primer lugar, el árbol genealógico de Cervantes cuando pasa de la tercera generación—hasta la cual hay documentos que la ilustran, gracias a los trabajos de beneméritos investigadores, entre los cuales habrá que contar en puesto preeminente, a buen seguro, al propio Sr. Rodríguez Marín—entra casi en el terreno de lo fantástico, y el mismo erudito, en una obra posterior (*Cervantes y la ciudad de Córdoba*, Madrid, 1904, pág. 26) rechaza y se mofa de la genealogía publicada por Fernández de Navarrete. Como dice muy atinadamente Fitzmaurice-Kelly (que en su *Life of Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra*, London, 1892, se había hecho eco de tales elucubraciones), “Esta tabla de ascendencias está basada parcialmente en el trabajo de Rodrigo Méndez Silva, zurcidor de pergaminos, y carece, por lo tanto, de autoridad” (*Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra*, Oxford, 1917, pág. 17).

Pero, aunque se aceptase todo eso; la reflexión tardía de Cervantes, con la que el crítico sevillano trata de aclarar el por qué del cambio, presenta un pequeño problema de psicología un tanto inexplicable. ¿A santo de qué venía ese intempestivo remordimiento y rectificación consiguiente?

Por lo que se refiere a la mudanza en el capítulo xv de la Primera Parte del *Quijote*, se recordará que ya en la *editio princeps* aparecían como *yangüeses* los arrieros en el epígrafe del capítulo, y en la segunda edición no hizo Cervantes otra cosa sino acordar el texto con dicho

sumario que al frente iba. El hecho de la alteración es indudable, pero la cosa no tiene gran importancia. Si, segun todas las probabilidades, "Cervantes escribió la primera parte del *Quijote* corridamente, y á la postre lo dividió en capítulos y les puso los epígrafes," como el mismo cervantista afirma en nota al principio de su edición en *Clásicos castellanos*, ¿para qué hacer hincapié en esta enmienda a la que Cervantes se vió obligado por una incongruencia producto de su método de trabajo? No me inclino a sorprender en ello un sentido profundo y trascendental.

La variante en el texto impreso del *Rinconete* podría tener la explicación de que la obra iba dedicada a un magnate gallego,<sup>1</sup> personaje que venía a la memoria de Góngora, para saludarle con un soneto, cuando el famoso poeta cordobés iba a aquellas lejanas tierras para hacer unas informaciones.<sup>2</sup>

Si tal teoría fuera presentada podría hallar ulterior apoyo en el hecho de que la copia de Porras de la Cámara fué hecha probablemente en 1602 ó 1603 (así opina Rodríguez Marín en la edición de *Rinconete* antes mencionada, pág. 351, pero, ni siempre pensó de tal modo, ni todo el mundo está de acuerdo: véase el libro de Bonilla y San Martín, *Cervantes y su obra*, Madrid, s.a., pág. 204) fecha en que no podía Cervantes pensar en dedicar su obra al Conde, porque parece que fué en Valladolid, en 1604, por intermedio del Conde de Saldaña, cuñado de Lemos, cuando éste hizo conocimiento con el ingenio tan inferior a él en la escala social, y que sin embargo iba a darle más grandeza, fama y crédito duraderos que su prosapia y

<sup>1</sup> No se sabe de seguro el lugar del nacimiento del Conde de Lemos. Cotarelo (*Ejemprides cervantinas*, Madrid, 1905, pág. 34) cree que vió la luz en Madrid. Por otro lado Asensio (*Cervantes y sus obras*, Barcelona, 1902, pág. 298), Fernández de Bethencourt (*Historia genealógica y heráldica de la Monarquía Española*, Madrid, 1897-1920, T. IV, pág. 551) y el Marqués de Rafal con pruebas más extensas (*Un Mecenas español del siglo xvii: El Conde de Lemos*, Madrid, 1911, pág. 9 y especialmente pág. 12, n.) opinan que tuvo su cuna en el solar de sus mayores: la villa de Monforte de Lemos, en Galicia.

<sup>2</sup> Bib. Aut. Esp., T. XXXII, pág. 428. Asensio (*loc. cit.*, pág. 335) y el Marqués de Rafal (*loc. cit.*, págs. 219-20) creen que Góngora estuvo en Galicia en la primavera de 1621. En cambio Lucien Paul Thomas (*Góngora et le gongorisme...*, París, 1911, pág. 24) afirma que el viaje del poeta tuvo lugar en 1609. Esto parece lo cierto si se tienen en cuenta las *Vingt-six lettres de Góngora* publicadas por Foulché-Delbœc en la *Revue hispanique* (T. X [1903], págs. 184-225). Allí aparecen cartas fechadas desde Madrid en 6, 13 y 27 de Abril, 11 y 25 de Mayo y 20 de Julio del año 1621, sin que se aluda para nada a la excursión por un país, que, dada la respetable distancia, tenía que consumir bastante tiempo.

eminentes cargos disfrutados. (Conf. el citado libro del Marqués de Rafal, págs. 24 y 256, n.)

Mas esta hipótesis es insostenible. Hay una razón potísima que la desbarata, y que destruye también la insinuación de Rodríguez Marín. La razón es que si en *La ilustre fregona* no representa la Gallega un papel muy lucido, en otra de las novelas se remacha el clavo de modo patente: me refiero a *La Señora Cornelio*. En el discurso del ama a la enamorada joven le advierte que Isunza y Gamboa se dicen vizcaínos "pero quizá contigo serán gallegos, que es otra nación, según es fama; algo menos puntual y bien mirada que la vizcaína" (*Bib. Aut. Esp.*, T. I., pág. 217).

Y si se admitiese como buena la dudosa atribución a Cervantes de *La tía fingida*—no es mi intención entrar en tan debatido tema—nos encontraríamos con que en las observaciones que Claudia le hace a Esperanza sobre las cualidades de los estudiantes de las diversas regiones, "Los gallegos no se colocan en predicamento, porque no son alguien" (*Bib. Aut. Esp.*, T. I., pág. 248), cosa bien distinta de lo que expresaba Lope en su *Laurel de Apolo* (*Colección de obras sueltas*, Madrid, 1776-79, T. I., pág. 61) donde al hablar de Lemos si calificaba a Galicia de tierra "nunca fértil de Poetas," añadía:

mas sí de casas nobles,  
ilustres Capitanes y Letrados<sup>1</sup>

Para finalizar. Creo que la explicación de Rodríguez Marín es injustificable, que los indicados cambios no obedecen a ningún motivo que hoy podamos descubrir, y que, simplemente, Cervantes no tenía de las gentes del Noroeste, en general, un concepto superior al corriente, y contra el cual, ya en 1550, protestaba en unas horrendas coplas de arte mayor, con mayor generoso entusiasmo que sentido artístico en la expresión, el malagueño Licenciado Luis de Molina en su *Descripción del Reino de Galicia y de las cosas notables del*.

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<sup>1</sup> Algo semejante a ésta de Lope es una curiosa observación respecto a los grandes puestos ocupados en Consejos y Chancillerías por los naturales de Pontevedra, la bonne ville de que nos habla Froissart (*Œuvres de Froissart*, edición del Barón Kervyn de Lettenhove, Bruxelles, 1867-77, T. XI, pág. 410) que se halla en la Dedicatoria a Don Felipe de Montenegro de la traducción de las *Georgicas* (Salamanca, 1586) hecha por el sevillano Juan de Guzmán, discípulo del Brocense, y que mereció elogios descomendidos, evidentemente hiperbólicos, del finiz de los ingenios en su *Laurel de Apolo* (*loc. cit.*, págs. 35-37).



## MARTIN PARKER: ADDITIONAL NOTES

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In an account of the ballad-writer, Martin Parker, printed in *Modern Philology* for January, 1919 (XVI, 449-74), I expressed some doubt about the date of his death, though I was inclined to accept the date 1656, the year in which a burlesque elegy on him appeared. Since that time I have had an opportunity to examine the book in which Parker's elegy was included. George Thomason's copy, in the British Museum, was bought on August 23, 1656. It is entitled:

Death in a New Dress:/Or/Sportive Funeral/Elegies. /Commemorating  
the renowned Lives/and lamented Deaths of these/Eminent Personages,/ /  
Robbin the Annyseed-water Seller. /Martin Parker the famous Poet.  
/Archee the late Kings Jester. /The Gentlewoman that so often tra-/vail'd  
up Holborn-Hill upon her/Bum. ec. /With/The Celebration of some (harm-  
less/but plesant Healths) hitherto not in fashion: /And other Drollerical  
Crotchets, very delightful. /By S. F./London, Printed for Isaac Pridmore  
at the Signe/of the Falcon neer the New Exchange, 1656.

Whoever S. F. was, and notwithstanding the fact that his elegies were satirical, he kept rather close to facts. In dealing, for example, with Archie Armstrong, former jester of Charles I, he states clearly that his elegy is a joke and that Archie is not dead.

It is strange that the following passage from the opening elegy "On the Death of Annyseed-water Robbin" has so long escaped the notice of students of ballads:

Ye glorious \*three

*Samuel	Who grasp the Poles of Star-crown'd Poesie;
Smith- son.	Has som Cask-piercing †Youth poison'd your wine With wicked <i>Laethe</i> ? Did you ever dine
Hum- phrey	On Turnep-tops, without or Salt, or Butter, That amongst all your Canzonets, or clutter
Crowch.	You fail'd to mention this deceased <i>Robbin</i> ,
Law- rence	It seems you ne'r-quaff <i>Nectar</i> in his Noggin, As I have done.
Price.	
†Drawer	
Smal-beer.	

Smithson, Crouch, and Price were, after Parker's death, the most important ballad-writers in London, and they turned out dozens of ballads and chapbooks equal to Parker's own productions. But allusions to them are as rare as allusions to Parker are frequent. Smithson, in particular, has been unlucky: most of his ballads are signed by his initials "S. S." and in almost every instance where they occur in the *Roxburghe Ballads* J. W. Ebsworth interpreted them as "Samuel Sheppard," in spite of the fact that Sheppard loathed ballads and ridiculed them on every occasion.

S. F. reminds these "glorious three" that he has waited a long time before writing the elegy on Robin: "Have I not waited long enough; five years?" That this statement is reasonably accurate is proved by passages in issues of *Merlinus Anonymus* for 1655 and 1653. The first of these includes in an account of the time that has lapsed since certain memorable events have taken place the following:

Since *Robert* the strongwater-still gave  
His soul to Heaven, his body to the Grave. 6 [years.]

In the 1653 *Merlinus* a "Fest Day," November 9, is named in honor of the deceased "Robin the Anyseed vvater stiller." Evidently, then, he died about 1650. Robin's name and fame, however, persisted for years. In addition to the information given about him by S. F. he is dealt with at some length in *The Life and Death of Mrs. Mary Frith. Commonly Called Mal Cutpurse* (1662, pp. 74-75). "There was also," says Mal, "a cotemporary of mine, as remarkable as my self, called *Anniseed-water Robin*: Who was cloathed very near my Antick Mode, being an Hermaphrodite, a person of both Sexes." Mal hated the very sight of Robin, though on his approach the neighbors "used to say, *here comes Malls Husband*," and she hired boys to fight and stone him away. *The Laughing Mercury* for September 29-October 6, 1652, writes:

A lusty crew of *Ranters* being feasting and revelling lately at a Tavern in Southwark, would needs send for *Anni-seed-water-Robbin* (the Hermaphrodite) who comming among them, after they had drank up all his Strong water. . . .

and then tells a tale too scurrilous to bear repetition here.<sup>1</sup> Robin is also mentioned in the lists of "Decoys, Hectors, and Trapanners"

<sup>1</sup> He is mentioned again, *ibid.* (October 6-12, 1652), p. 115.

that concluded each issue of the coarse post-Restoration newsbook called *The Wandering Whore*.<sup>1</sup> In John Hilton's *Catch That Catch Can* (1663, p. 41) there is a catch, with musical score, beginning:

Dainty fine A-niseed water fine,  
dainty content and your money again:  
See, here comes *Robin* Hermaphrodite,  
hot waters he cryes for his delight. . . .

So much for Robin! Of the "gentlewoman" whose picturesque begging is satirized in the third of S. F.'s elegies I have found no further account. But to associate Parker, devoted and influential Royalist writer that he was, with this dubious pair was unflattering to a degree. At any rate, as in the case of Robin, I can produce additional notices of Parker's death—a calamity for balladry that had occurred by the end of 1652. *Merlinus Anonymus*, 1653 (Thomason's copy was purchased on January 5, 1652-3), in a column devoted to "festivall Dayes, (Martyrs quite forgotten by *Fox*)," names April 7 as a "Fest day" in honor of Parker, though it by no means follows that he had died on that particular day. In its issue for the following year (bought by Thomason on November 18, 1653) *Merlinus* includes among "A brief computation of some things very memorable till this year 1654" the following couplet:

Since that *Nan Sharp* of Sodom married Street,  
Since *Martin Parker* had his winding sheet.

*Nan Sharp* was, we are told, a ballad-singer.

The following hitherto unrecorded references to Parker<sup>2</sup> deserve printing, not only for their intrinsic interest, but also for the light they throw on his literary relations and on the rôle he played as ballad-writer and pamphleteer:

1635. S[peed]., R. *The Counter Scuffle Whereunto is Added, the Counter Rat*, sig. E 2<sup>v</sup>.

\**The Kings Lay* (\**Hocus Pocus*) thy tricks by,  
*Iuggler.* Let *Martin Parkers Ballads* dye,  
Thy theaming likewise I defie,  
O *Fanner*.

[This allusion, which occurs in every edition I have seen from 1635 to 1702, is the earliest yet pointed out. It may have occurred also in the editions of 1626 and 1628 which I have not seen.]

<sup>1</sup> E.g., December 5, 12, 28, 1660. Cf. also a ballad in the *Roxburgh Ballads*, VII, 260.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps "Martyn Parker of Newgate Market draper," whose name is signed to a bond dated May 1, 1584 (J. C. Jeaffreson, *Middlesex County Records*, I, 150), was related to the ballad-writer.

1639. Price, Laurence. *A Map of Merry Conceites*, sig. A 2.  
 I babe in hand no monstrous beast to brag on  
 As Parkers Ore, nor Trundles mighty Draggon. . . .  
 [I do not understand this remark. A lost ballad and an extant tract (reprinted in Charles Hindley's *Old Book Collector's Miscellany*) on a Sussex dragon were printed by John Trundle in 1614. Trundle was greatly ridiculed for his gullibility in printing these stories.]

1647. *Match me these two: . . . With An Answer to a Pamphlet, entituled, The Parliament of Ladies* (no author or imprint. Bodleian, Wood 354 A. 11), p. 2.  
 [A Judiciary Court to crush libellers and slanderous pamphlets ordained *Catullus* to be Clerk of the Assize, *John Taylor* to be Doore-keeper, and *Martin Parker* to be Subsizer, and carry out the offall.]

1647. Sheppard, Samuel. *The Committee Man Curried, a Comedy*, p. 7.  
 [Common-curse, an Excise-man, says to Suck-dry, a Committee-man:]  
 Rare rogue in Buckram—thou shalt goe out a Wit, and vie With  
*Martin Parker*, or *John Tailor*.

1647. September 20-27. *Mercurius Morbicus* (British Museum, E. 409/11), p. 8.  
 The last weeke he [*Mercurius Melancholicus*] appeared with double (*Ianus*) faces under one hood. But this weekes appearance is no lesse then a *Cerberus* (a triple headed monster) the joyn't furies which assisted the first two being now divided, by cheating one another, they part stakes and *exeunt*.  
 But who can chuse but laugh to see the knaves call one another so, especially when *Martin Parker*, and *Swallow Crouch* are the other visible heads, joyne with *Hacket* upon the body of this Monster. . . .  
 Two heads of the Monster are alike poysinous, and blow the same infection together; but *Hacket* (whose proselytes they are) spues out the venome by himselfe.  
 What then, shall I encounter with a triple headed fury? were they legions, I feare them not, they are . . . at enmity amongst themselves; *What* (sayes one of them) *another Melancholicus, this is prodigious, these twins have one name, but not one father; if you goe about to affright me with my owne shape, you must produce one more horrid.* Horrid shapes is the essentiall part of *Melancholicus*, two of them tell one story, *of peeping through the pillory, & of Propheticall spirits, and of lamentations at the gallows.* This was collected out of M. *Hackets* notes last Newgate Sessions, where he was a great soliciter for the malefactors, fearing that if *Macqueere* had been hanged for a principle, himselfe would have been found an accessory: And as for *Martin Parkers doleful Ballad*, there was some reason for it, when he and his bride were both carried to *Newgate*, the same day they were married.

[This quotation is of the utmost importance as showing beyond question that Parker edited a Royalist pamphlet called *Mercurius Melancholicus* and that he was imprisoned for doing so. I shall discuss the ballad-pamphleteers at more length in another work. Meanwhile those who are interested in the subject should see J. B. Williams's account of the activities of John Hackluyt and "Swallow" Crouch in his *History of English Journalism*, pp. 80 ff. John Macquire was sentenced to be hanged, on September 4, 1647, for rioting before Newgate in a gaol delivery. He is described in the newsbooks as an Irishman, formerly an officer under the Earl of Essex.]

1648. *The Kentish Fayre. Or, The Parliament sold to their best worth* (British Museum, E. 446/21), p. 6.

If you'l have a Prince and void of shame, take this man for your use,  
his name is [Colonel] Bark-stead, the proud Thimble-maker, who  
walkes the round each night at Westminster, a Fool in folio yet a  
mighty Talker, whose Complements are tane from *Martin Parker*.

1650. *A Dialogue Between Mistris Macquerella, a Suburb Bawd, M<sup>r</sup> Scoplopendra, [etc.]*. . . . Printed for Edward Crouch, 1650 (Bodleian, Wood 654 A/14), p. 4.

[Mrs. Macquerella interrupts Mr. Pimpinello who is singing a bawdy song, whereupon he protests:]

Nay, hear it out. (for *Martin Parker*'s sake).

[Edward Crouch printed the Royalist newsbook *The Man in the Moon*. He must have been a friend of Parker's. The author probably intended to say nothing derogatory in the foregoing allusion.]

1651. Sheppard, Samuel. *Epigrams*, pp. 55-56.

[Sheppard addresses lines "To my much honoured uncle M. Paul Chapman," who scorns to have his poetry judged by those]

Who take the lines to pieces that they read,  
Wound some, wire-drawing others, and do need  
A Prompter, *M.P.*'s, Sonnets to con or'e.

1653. *Bibliotheca Parlamenti. . . . Done into English for The Assembly of Divines*, p. 5.

17 Ordered that *John Goodwin* and *Martin Parker* consult about forming some new Hymns, to be sung for the edification of the Saints; and that *Sternhold* and *Hopkins* be no more used, it having been proved that they were Popishly affected. [Mr. J. B. Williams kindly called my attention to this passage.]

1654. *Catalogus Librorum: Or Books worth buying* [added to] *Merlinus Anonymus. . . . By Raphael Desmus.* [First entry is]

*Martin Parker*'s works, divine, moral, politicall, with a large, and learned comment, by Squire Tatam.

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## A FRENCH INFLUENCE ON GOLDSMITH'S *CITIZEN OF THE WORLD*

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In spite of the fact that Goldsmith himself supplied the clue in a footnote, no one seems to have called attention to the close filiation which exists between the *Citizen of the World* and the *Lettres Chinoises* of the Marquis d'Argens.<sup>1</sup> Yet the most cursory examination of the text of the latter work is sufficient to show that Goldsmith was indebted to it, not only for certain general elements of his scheme, but also for assistance of a very material kind in filling in his design.<sup>2</sup>

The *Lettres Chinoises, ou Correspondance philosophique, historique et critique, entre un Chinois voyageur à Paris et ses correspondans à la Chine, en Muscovie, en Perse et au Japon*, by Jean Baptiste de Boyer, Marquis d'Argens (1704–71), was one of the most popular of the many imitations of the *Lettres Persanes* which the "mouvement philosophique" called forth in France. First printed in 1739,<sup>3</sup> it reached a fifth edition in 1756,<sup>4</sup> and, with the possible exception of the *Lettres Juives* (1738), was the best known of the writings of its author, one of the minor, but not least intransigent, members of the Voltairean party. Like d'Argens' other works, it had readers in England almost from the start. A translation, under the title of *Chinese Letters*,

<sup>1</sup> D'Argens' work is listed among possible models of the *Citizen of the World* in the *Works of Oliver Goldsmith*, ed. J. W. M. Gibbs, III (London, 1885), 1, but no positive assertion of influence is made. The latest student of Goldsmith's sources, Mr. L. J. Davidson in *Modern Language Notes* for April, 1921 (XXXVI, 215–20), confines his study of the "forerunners" of the *Citizen* to such well-known examples of the "foreign observer" type as the *Turkish Spy*, Montesquieu's *Lettres Persanes*, and Lyttleton's *Persian Letters*, and does not mention d'Argens even by title.

<sup>2</sup> I had collected the greater part of the evidence of this indebtedness when I learned that Dr. Smith had discovered the same evidence quite independently while preparing an edition of the *Citizen of the World*. Although he expects to publish some of his results shortly in the form of a general monograph on the *Citizen*, he agreed with me that the influence of d'Argens was interesting and important enough to deserve to be made public without delay, and very kindly agreed to the present collaboration. The reader is referred to his forthcoming study for further passages from the *Lettres Chinoises*, and for evidence of borrowing by Goldsmith from other writers as striking, if not so extensive, as that from d'Argens.—R. S. C.

<sup>3</sup> Lanson, *Manuel bibliographique de la littérature française moderne* (Paris, 1909–12), Nos. 9894, 10199.

<sup>4</sup> A la Haye, chez Pierre Gosse ... Nicholas Van Daalen ... M.DCC.LVI. 6 vols., 8vo. All references in the present article are to this edition.

appeared in 1741,<sup>1</sup> and was reprinted, with the title changed to *The Chinese Spy*, in 1751.<sup>2</sup> "It is an ingenious and very entertaining performance," declared the *Monthly Review* on the occasion of this reissue,<sup>3</sup> "and is sufficiently known to excuse our saying any thing more of it."

In the edition of 1756, the *Lettres Chinoises* contained 162 letters, supposed to have been exchanged among seven Chinamen resident or traveling in different parts of Asia and Europe.<sup>4</sup> As each of the correspondents described minutely the manners, institutions, religious observances, and beliefs of the people among whom he was living, the work was a storehouse of historical and sociological information on China, Persia, Japan, Siam, Russia, Scandinavia, Germany, and France, drawn for the most part from such well-known eighteenth-century authorities as Du Halde, Chardin, Kemper, Hyde, Picart, and Vertot, but occasionally, as in many of the letters on life at Paris, from first-hand observation. The descriptive intention, however, was subordinate throughout to the critical: the book was essentially an enormous "philosophical" pamphlet, in which the delineations of places and manners and the narratives of past events served in most cases but as starting-points for developments on the author's favorite themes of toleration and anticlericalism.

How or when Goldsmith became acquainted with the *Lettres Chinoises* it is impossible to say. In his *Inquiry into the Present State of Polite Learning* (1759), he included d'Argens in a list of contemporary French authors "who do honour to the present age, and whose writings will be transmitted to posterity with an ample share of fame"; but he dismissed him in a single sentence, and mentioned none of his works.<sup>5</sup> All that is certain is that he knew

<sup>1</sup> Martha Pike Conant, *The Oriental Tale in England* (New York, 1908), p. 277. There is a copy at Harvard.

<sup>2</sup> See *Monthly Review*, V (November, 1751), 460.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* The same number of the *Review* contained a character of d'Argens, "one of the greatest wits in Europe," quoted from *The Beau Philosopher; or the History of the Chevalier de Mainvilliers*. Translated from the French original (*ibid.*, pp. 392-95).

<sup>4</sup> Their names were Sloeu-Tcheou (France, Germany, Poland), Choang (Persia), Tiao (Russia and Scandinavia), Kleou-Che (Japan and Siam), I-Tuly (Rome), Sloeu-Theou (whereabouts not indicated), and Yn-Che-Chan (Pekin). Most of the letters were addressed to Yn-Che-Chan.

<sup>5</sup> *Works*, ed. Gibbs, III, 494-95. There is a similar reference to d'Argens in the *Memoirs of M. de Voltaire*, written in 1759 but apparently not published until 1761 (*ibid.*, IV, 42-43, 45).

the *Lettres Chinoises* by the end of January, 1760, when he began to contribute his own *Chinese Letters* to Newberry's *Public Ledger*, and that he read the work in the original.<sup>1</sup>

Was it the example of d'Argens that determined his choice of a Chinese prolocutor for his series? If there is any basis for the tradition reported by one of his biographers, that this choice was an afterthought, his original design having been to write for Newberry a series of African letters,<sup>2</sup> it is at least possible to suspect that his final decision was precipitated by a reading or re-reading of the *Lettres Chinoises*. But there is nothing conclusive about this; nor can we draw any certain inference from the fact that he used as a caption for his essays in the *Ledger* a literal translation of d'Argens' title, though the coincidence is surely striking. The truth is that Goldsmith's interest in China antedated by several years at least his connection with the *Public Ledger*, and was nourished by other works besides that of d'Argens. Goguet's *De l'Origine des Loix, des Arts et des Sciences*, which he analyzed, with particular mention of the portions relating to China, in the *Critical Review* for March, 1759;<sup>3</sup> Murphy's *Orphan of China*, which he reviewed in the next number but one of the same journal;<sup>4</sup> Percy's as yet unpublished collections for his *Hau Kiou Choaan*, which he had seen as early as May, 1759<sup>5</sup>—these in themselves were no doubt sufficient to account for his choice. Moreover, a sentence in a letter to Robert Bryanton, written in August, 1758, points to a certain interest in Chinese material at a date earlier still. "If ever my works find their way to Tartary or China," he remarked at the end of a humorous discussion of literary fame, "I know the consequence. Suppose one of your Chinese Owanowitzers instructing one of your Tartarian Chianobacchi—you see I use Chinese names to show my own erudition, as I shall soon make our Chinese talk like an European to show his."<sup>6</sup> Whatever the source of this "erudition," it certainly did not come from the *Lettres Chinoises*.

<sup>1</sup> See *Citizen of the World*, Letter XLIII, where it is referred to in a footnote as "Let. Chin." (*Works*, ed. Gibbs, III, 163, n. 4.)

<sup>2</sup> James Prior, *The Life of Oliver Goldsmith*, I (London, 1837), 360: "It may gratify curiosity to know that his first design according to accounts of his friends was to make his hero a native of Morocco or Fez."

<sup>3</sup> See *Works*, ed. Gibbs, IV, 346.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 350-55.      <sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 351, note.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 437.

But if d'Argens had no demonstrable part in the original conception of the *Citizen of the World*, his influence on its composition was both precise and fairly extensive. The most obvious and striking manifestation of this influence consisted in a number of definite text borrowings, amounting in nearly all cases to reasonably close translations, and involving in several instances the content of whole essays. The following parallel, chosen rather for its typical quality than for its extent, will give an idea of their general character.

## D'ARGENS, LETTRE LXXIX

La plupart des voyageurs ne parlent que de la grandeur des fleuves qu'ils ont traversés, que de la hauteur des montagnes qu'ils ont vues, que des marchandises qui se vendent dans les villes. Tout ce-la est bon pour des Géographes, ou pour des Négocians; mais quel profit peut en retirer un Philosophe qui cherche de connoître le cœur humain, qui veut examiner les hommes dans tous les pais, pour mieux découvrir la différence que mettent parmi eux l'opposition du climat, la diversité de Religion, l'éducation, les prejugés & les mœurs. Je t'avoûe, cher Yn-Che-Chan, que je m'estimerois bien malheureux, si en retournant à la Chine, je ne rapportois d'autre fruit de mon volage que de savoir que les rues de Paris sont fort larges; que les maisons y sont très élevées; que les habitans aiment la parure, & portent des habits courts & étroits; que les draps & les étoffes de soie y sont très communes; que les Prêtres ont des robes noires & longues, qu'ils chantent dans les rues lorsqu'ils font des processions, & qu'ils ne se marient pas. Combien de voyageurs n'y a-t-il pas, dont les relations

## GOLDSMITH, LETTER VII

. . . . Let European travellers cross seas and deserts merely to measure the height of a mountain, to describe the cataract of a river, or tell the commodities which every country may produce: merchants or geographers, perhaps, may find profit by such discoveries; but what advantage can accrue to a philosopher from such accounts, who is desirous of understanding the human heart, who seeks to know the *men* of every country, who desires to discover those differences which result from climate, religion, education, prejudice, and partiality?

I should think my time very ill bestowed, were the only fruits of my adventures to consist in being able to tell, that a tradesman of London lives in a house three times as high as that of our great Emperor; that the ladies wear longer clothes than the men; that the priests are dressed in colours which we are taught to detest; and that their soldiers wear scarlet, which is with us the symbol of peace and innocence. How many travellers are there who confine their relations to such minute and useless particulars! For one who

## d'ARGENS—Continued

se bornent à ces détails peu instructifs. Pour un qui entre dans le génie des Nations qu'il a parcourues, qui développe leurs mœurs, leur croissance, les idées qu'elles ont du culte divin, les intrigues & les cabales de leurs Prêtres, l'étendue de leurs connaissances dans les Sciences; vingt autres ne font mention que de quelques particularités qui ne peuvent être daucun usage pour la véritable Philosophie. J'appelle la véritable Philosophie, celle qui rend les hommes meilleurs, qui leur apprend à dompter leurs passions, qui leur inspire l'amour de la vertu & l'horreur du vice. Or, la seule étude de la Morale produit tous ces effets merveilleux [III, 146–48].

Borrowings of essentially the same kind as this occurred in nine other letters, ranging in position from the beginning to near the end of the collection as it was reprinted in 1762. The following list includes only unmistakable cases of translation or close paraphrase.

**Letter IV (III, 21):** The first sentence of the essay is modeled on *Let. Chin.*, I (I, 2), beginning of the third paragraph.

**Letter IX (III, 36):** The remarks on prostitutes which form the second paragraph of the letter are translated from d'Argens' *Lettre XXI* (I, 183–84). England is substituted for France as the country involved.

**Letter X (III, 38–40):** With the exception of the introductory paragraph and of a few scattered sentences, the whole letter—a description of the customs and religion of the Daures—is translated from d'Argens' *Lettre XXVIII* (I, 259–66).

**Letter XII (III, 44–45):** The account of English death-bed customs in paragraphs two to six is a slightly rearranged translation

## GOLDSMITH—Continued

enters into the genius of those nations with whom he has conversed—who discloses their morals, their opinions, the ideas which they entertain of religious worship, the intrigues of their ministers, and their skill in sciences, there are twenty who only mention some idle particulars, which can be of no real use to a true philosopher. All their remarks tend neither to make themselves nor others more happy; they no way contribute to control their passions, to bear adversity, to inspire true virtue, or raise a detestation of vice [III, 32].<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> All the references to the *Citizen of the World* in this article are to the text of the third, or 1774, edition as reprinted by Gibbes, *ed. cit.*, Vol. III.

of bits of *Lettres V* and *VI* of d'Argens (I, 34–35, 40–43), where, however, the allusion is to France.

Letter XVI (III, 58–62): The whole letter—on the accounts of fabulous peoples to be found in European historical writings—is a considerably condensed translation of *Let. Chin.*, XXXI (II, 2–11).

Letter XIX (III, 72): The next to the last paragraph is taken from *Let. Chin.*, XLII (II, 117–18), where it forms part of a long development on Russian marriage customs.

Letter XLIII (III, 161–63): The opening passage on the loss suffered by humanity in the death of a philosopher is constructed out of two short developments in *Let. Chin.*, LXXXIV (III, 206, 209–10). The idea of the third and fourth paragraphs—the opprobrium often visited upon philosophers—together with some of the examples, is perhaps reminiscent of *Let. Chin.*, XXXVI (II, 53–60). In the fifth paragraph Goldsmith mentions d'Argens among the admirers of Voltaire, and refers in a note to “*Let. Chin.*.” It is not clear that he had in mind any particular passage: praise of Voltaire is frequent in the *Lettres Chinoises*; see, for example, I, 271–82, II, 294–95; III, 189–90, 240–41, 264–65.

Letter LXIV (III, 240–41): The discussion of European titles in the first paragraph is a translation of the first two paragraphs of *Let. Chin.*, LXV (II, 359–60).

Letter CXVIII (III, 425–27): The whole account of Fum Hoam's experiences in Japan is a somewhat condensed translation of *Let. Chin.*, CXXXIII (V, 168–75, 177–78).

In all of these cases Goldsmith's procedure was similar to that in the passage from Letter VII quoted above. In the main he translated with a fair degree of fidelity to his original; but he did not hesitate to condense, to suppress details or sometimes whole developments, to substitute English examples for French, to heighten the balance and movement of the phrases or the concreteness of the allusions, to adjust his borrowings in various ways to a frequently different context. It would be instructive, did space permit, to analyze in detail the modifications which he made in the material furnished by d'Argens; such a study could not but throw into striking relief the extraordinary gift which Goldsmith possessed of simple, clear, succinct expression. For our present purpose, however, it is

enough to have established the fact that a not inconsiderable portion of the *Citizen of the World* had its origin in a deliberate act of translations.

In view of the certainty which we thus acquire that Goldsmith had the *Lettres Chinoises* before him during most of the period in which he was writing his own Chinese letters, it is perhaps legitimate to attribute to the influence of d'Argens certain resemblances between the two works which do not involve direct textual borrowing and which, therefore, would hardly justify, by themselves, such an interpretation. It is impossible to give here more than a bald enumeration of these resemblances; this is the less to be regretted as the accessibility of the *Lettres Chinoises* in American libraries makes verification of the parallels by scholars who may be interested comparatively easy:<sup>1</sup>

Letters I and II: Lien Chi Altangi is befriended by merchants at Amsterdam. Compare *Let. Chin.* I (I, 6), where the same thing occurs to Sioeu-Tcheou.

Letter II (III, 15): Coaches blocking up the streets of London. Cf. the description of the same phenomenon in Paris in *Let. Chin.*, I (I, 6-7).

Letter III (III, 18): Criticism of the notion that the strangeness of European customs implies a departure from "nature." Cf. *Let. Chin.*, LIII (II, 235-36) and, for the details, XXVIII (I, 259-70) and XXX (I, 283-84).

Letter III (III, 19-20): Comparison of English and Chinese fine ladies. Cf. *Let. Chin.*, II (I, 9-10, 12) and IV (I, 29-30).

Letter VI (III, 29): "Tien, the universal soul." Cf. *Let. Chin.*, VII (I, 48), XIV (I, 121), XLIV (II, 137), etc.

Letter X (III, 39): "The sectaries of Fohi." D'Argens, from whom the context is translated, has "Lao-Kium" (I, 262). But cf. *Let. Chin.*, XI (I, 81-91).

Letter XIII (III, 48): A "gentleman dressed in black," with whom Lien Chi discusses the monuments in Westminster Abbey. D'Argens in Lettre LVIII (II, 289-96) describes a conversation in a Paris bookshop between Sioeu-Tcheou and "un homme habillé de noir."

<sup>1</sup> There are copies at Harvard, at the University of Chicago, at the Newberry Library, Chicago, and doubtless elsewhere.

Letter XV (III, 57): "One of their doctors . . . ." Probably an allusion to the unnamed Jesuit whose theories concerning the souls of animals d'Argens summarized in *Lettre LIV* (II, 246-49).

Letter XIX (III, 71): "'Psha, man,' replied he, smiling; ' . . . one half of the kingdom would flog the other.' " Cf., for a similar remark in a similar context, *Let. Chin.*, XLIII (II, 133).

Letter XXXIII (III, 126): English comments on Lien Chi's personal appearance. Cf. *Let. Chin.*, I (I, 4-5).

Letter XXXIII (III, 128): Citation from the "*Journal ou Suite du Voyage de Siam. . .*" It is possible that Goldsmith learned of the existence of this work from the several references to it in d'Argens: see *Lettres CXXXIX* (V, 241), *CXL* (V, 257), *CXLI* (V, 268). He had, however, seen the book, or at least owed the passage quoted from it to another source than the *Lettres Chinoises*.

Letter XXXIII (III, 128): Lien Chi's familiarity with factors and missionaries in China. Cf. *Let. Chin.*, VII (I, 47).

Letter XXXVII (III, 138): "An ancient Guebre of the number, remarkable for his piety and wisdom." Cf. d'Argens' account of the virtues of the Guebres, *Let. Chin.*, CXVIII (V, 3-4).

Letter XLII (III, 157-58): Contrast between the stability of China, with her policy of toleration, and the anarchy of Europe, torn by revolutions and religious wars. Cf. *Let. Chin.*, VIII (I, 58-59) and LII (II, 230).

Letter LI (III, 191-95): A conversation between Lien Chi and a book-seller. There are two such conversations in d'Argens; see *Let. Chin.*, XXIX (I, 271-82) and LVIII (II, 289-96).

Letter LVI (III, 211): "Tomans." Cf. d'Argens' definition and use of this term in *Lettre XXII* (I, 201).

Letter LVI (III, 211): Description of the state of Russia. Apparently summarized from *Let. Chin.*, XXXV (II, 43) and LVII (II, 282-84).

Letter LVI (III, 211-12): Description of the German Empire. Apparently a generalization from *Let. Chin.*, CV (IV, 124-34) and CVI (IV, 135-45).

Letter LVI (III, 212): Description of Sweden. Cf. d'Argens' account of Denmark in *Lettre CXXXIV* (V, 179-89). It is significant that the *Public Ledger* text read: "Sweden . . . is probably

(like Denmark of late) only hastening on to despotism" (III, 212, note). The words in parenthesis were omitted from the collected edition of 1762.

Letter XCIX, *Public Ledger* text (III, 363, note): "Hyde rel. Pers." There are many references to Hyde in d'Argens; see Lettre C (IV, 161) and Tome IV, *passim*.

Letter CXI (III, 400): "Talapoins." D'Argens gives an account of the "Talapoins" of Siam in Lettre CXLI (V, 272-73) and elsewhere in Tome V.

Such are the principal correspondences between the *Citizen of the World* and the *Lettres Chinoises*. Whatever may be thought of certain of the parallels in the immediately foregoing list—and no doubt some of them can be explained as the result either of accident or of the influence of other reading—it is clear from all of the evidence that has been presented that Goldsmith was intimately familiar with d'Argens' work, that he kept it constantly by him while he was writing his series for the *Ledger*, and that he was indebted to it, not only for occasional passages and even whole essays—which he appropriated according to a method he had already practiced extensively in the *Bee*<sup>1</sup>—but also for numerous less precise suggestions of various kinds—details of his hero's experiences in England (the hint for the "man in black" almost certainly came from d'Argens), miscellaneous bits of Asiatic local color, the themes of a good many satirical or reflective developments.

It remains only to indicate the limits of the influence whose reality and general character have perhaps been made sufficiently clear. That, in spite of much indebtedness in detail, the *Citizen of the World* differed in many important respects from the *Lettres Chinoises*, no one who has read the two works can for a moment doubt. It was not merely that Goldsmith remained insensible to some of the most characteristic features of the latter production—to the metaphysical discussions, the historical narratives, the attacks on fanaticism and superstition, in a word, to the "philosophical" propaganda—but his finer gift of humorous invention, his greater concern for character and incident, his less "interested" preoccupation

<sup>1</sup> See *Works*, ed. cit., II, 356-60, 410-14, 438-43, and A. J. Barnouw, "Goldsmith's Indebtedness to Justus Van Effen," in *Modern Language Review*, VIII (1913), 314-23.

with morals and manners—these qualities, which colored even his borrowings,<sup>1</sup> gave to his work as a whole an individuality quite impossible to confuse with that of the author of the *Lettres Chinoises*. In short, while his borrowings from d'Argens help to explain many details in the substance, and a few features of the scheme, of the *Citizen of the World*, and throw an interesting light on its writer's method of composition, they account for none of the traits which constitute the essential originality of Goldsmith's work.

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<sup>1</sup> Compare the next to the last paragraph of Letter XVI (III, 61) with its original in d'Argens (II, 10–11), and the whole of Letter XIX (on adultery) with d'Argens' treatment of the same theme (II, 126–36).

## THE DEATH OF QRVAR ODDR

In the *Orvar Oddssaga* the hero learns from a seeress that he will live three hundred years and then die by his horse Faxi. He immediately kills the fatal horse and goes abroad to wander over the whole world. At the end of the time set he returns to Iceland and when he is looking at Faxi's skeleton he is bitten by a snake which lay concealed in the empty skull. From the effects of the bite he soon dies.<sup>1</sup> The *Orvar Oddssaga* is one of the oldest of the *Fornaldarsögur*, a group of Icelandic sagas which have a vague historical foundation along with a vast deal of folk-lore. This saga in particular has no assured connection with history or historical characters, though possibly the hero is the Ohthere who appears as a famous traveler in Alfred's *Orosius*. Before his story was carried to Iceland it may have been told in Norway, where some place-names, especially Faxasee, show an acquaintance with the saga.<sup>2</sup> The Norwegian allusion to Faxi seems to imply that the episode of the horse is one of the oldest parts of the saga. This story of the faithful horse which brings death to its master is a floating tale which is found also in Russian and English historical tradition and which has some very curious and interesting parallels in the stories of other countries.

The oldest analogue to this Norse prophecy of death and its fulfilment in spite of seeming impossibility has been pointed out in the Russian *Chronicle of Nestor* under date of 912 A.D. It is as follows:

And the autumn came and Oleg remembered his horse which he had nourished and which he had never mounted. For one day he had asked of the diviners and enchanters, "From what shall I die?" The diviner answered, "The horse that you love and that you ride shall be the cause of

<sup>1</sup> Rafn, *Fornaldarsögur Nörländska*, II, 169-89, 300; *Orvar Oddssaga*, ed. R. C. Boer, Leyden, 1888, pp. 15, 17, 193.

<sup>2</sup> Mogk in Paul's *Grundrisse*, II, 1, 836. New evidence pointing to the Norwegian origin of the saga has been collected by Liestel (*Norske trollvisor og norrøne sogor*, Kristiana, 1915), but it apparently does not involve the episode here discussed. I have not seen S. Roźniecki, *Varaegiske minder i den russiske heltedigtning*, Copenhagen, 1914. Settegast seems inclined to identify Oddr with Olivier in *Garin le Loherain* and the *Chanson de Roland*; see Herrig's *Archiv*, CXIV (1905), 215.

your death." Oleg reflected on this and said, "I shall not mount it again and I shall not wish to see it any more." He ordered that it should be cared for, but that it should not be brought before him. Some years passed and he did not make any use of it up to the time of his going to Greece. When he returned to Kiev four years had passed and in the fifth year he recalled his horse which was to cause his death according to the prediction of the enchanter. He summoned his chief esquire, saying, "Where is my horse that I have ordered to be nourished and cared for?" The esquire answered, "It is dead." Oleg laughed and mocked the seer, saying, "All that the sorcerers prophesy is a lie. The horse is dead and I am alive." And he ordered his horse saddled in order to see the bones, and he came to the place where the naked bones and the head of the animal lay, and he leapt from the horse on which he rode and began to laugh, saying, "That was the head which was to kill me." And he put his foot on the head and a viper crept out of it and bit him in the foot. He fell ill and died.<sup>1</sup>

This story is told also in the epic ballads (*byliny*): and the relation of those versions to the accounts of the chroniclers is a matter of some interest to students of the epics.<sup>2</sup> The details of Oleg's death in the historians belong, it said, to "a later stratum, which has been elaborated in the style of the popular epics."<sup>3</sup> Pushkin, who has told the story admirably in one of his ballads,<sup>4</sup> apparently did not take it from a dry chronicle, and his care concerning his source affords, says Khalanskiĭ, "new testimony to the general regard for his severity and conscientiousness in artistic endeavor."

The differences in the various Russian accounts of the death of Oleg would be only of incidental interest, if we had them; but the relation of the two stories, Russian and Norwegian (Icelandic), is of considerable importance. Léger says that the story in the chronicle is mythical and that the only portion of truth in it is that Oleg probably died from a snake bite, and even that seems dubious enough in view of the Scandinavian parallel.<sup>5</sup> He with Pogodin

<sup>1</sup> L. Léger, *Chronique dite de Nestor*, Paris, 1884, p. 29; C. W. Smith, *Russiske Krønike oversat og forklaaret*, Kopenhagen, 1869; Miklosich, *Chronica Nestoris*, 1860, pp. 20-21; L. Paris, *Chronique de Nestor*, Paris, 1834, p. 45, cf. a note on p. 50 citing Torfaeus, *Hist. Rus. byl. epos*, p. 423; Markevič, *O letopisiakh*, I (Odessa, 1883), 148.

<sup>2</sup> See Khalanskiĭ, "K istorii poetičeskikh skazanii ob Olege večem," chap. iii, sec. 7, *Žurnal ministerstva narodnago prosvětlenia*, CCCL (December, 1903), 38-40. He cites Sukhomil'nov, *O drevne-rus. letopisi*, pp. 123-24; Šlišer, *Nestor*, II, 766 ff.; Ždanov, *Rus. byl. epos*, p. 423; Markevič, *O letopisiakh*, I (Odessa, 1883), 148.

<sup>3</sup> Khalanskiĭ, *ibid.*, CCCXLII (August, 1902), 305.

<sup>4</sup> "Pesn o večem Olegie." R. Köhler (*Kleinere Schriften*, I, 47) cites a translation by Bodenstedt.

<sup>5</sup> Grimm (*Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 792) compares the death of Orion.

believes that the Russian chronicler drew on the saga.<sup>1</sup> Boer considers the stories of Oleg and Oddr too similar not to be related, and suggests deriving them from a common Scandinavian original.<sup>2</sup> "In the ninth century," he concludes (p. 110), "it [the story of the horse's skull] was widely disseminated in both countries and familiar to the founders of the Russian dynasty, who before long localized it in Russia, while, for some unknown reason, it was being attached in Norway to the name of Oddr." Mogk on the contrary thinks that a Russian story was picked up by a Norwegian narrator.<sup>3</sup>

The foregoing stories have been compared by H. L. Ward in some remarks on a British Museum manuscript of the saga with the much later tradition concerning an English knight, Sir Robert de Shurland of the Isle of Sheppey, who was created Knight Banneret by Edward I at the siege of Caerlaverock. The first account of this local tradition seems to be that in the journal of a "five days' peregrination" along the southern coast of England by Hogarth, the painter, and four companions. The journey was made between the twenty-seventh and the thirty-first of May, 1732; but the narrative seems to have been published for the first time fifty years later.<sup>4</sup> One of the travelers who had been commissioned to keep a record of the journey, tells the legend as follows:

In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, this lord Shorland having been to visit a friend on this island, and passing by this church in his way home to Shorland, about two miles off, he saw a concourse of people gathered together in

<sup>1</sup> Leger, p. 343; Pogodin, *Nestor, eine historisch-kritische Untersuchung* (tr. F. F. Löwe), St. Petersburg, 1844, p. 175.

<sup>2</sup> "Ueber die Orvar-Odds Saga," *Arkiv for nordisk filologi*, VIII (1892), 96 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Loc. cit.* There is nothing on the subject in Senkovski, "De islandske Sagaer i deres Forhold til den russiske Historie," *Annaler for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, Copenhagen, 1847, 1-77. H. L. Ward (*Catalogue of Romances in the British Museum*, II, 67) cites J. G. Liljegren, *Skandinaviska Fornälderens Hjältesagor*, II (Stockholm, 1819), and Suhm, *Danish History*.

<sup>4</sup> See the reprint of the journal in Hone, *Table-Book*, II (1828), cols. 291 ff., where also Gostling's versification of it is reproduced. John Nichols (*Biographical Anecdotes of William Hogarth*, London, 1785, p. 414) quotes Walpole, IV, 192, to the effect that "some few copies of the Tour were printed by Mr. Nichols in the preceding year" and that the tour printed by J. N. in 1781 should not be confused with that published by Mr. Livesay in 1782: the former was by Mr. Gostling of Canterbury, the latter by "one of the company." In Appendix III, pp. 502 ff., Nichols reprints the Gostling text. Timbs (*Abbeys, Castles, and Ancient Halls of England and Wales*, London, n. d., II, 285-86; 1872, I, 339) gives a version in fifty-four couplets by "one of the company," which ends:

"Tis a good moral hint at least,  
That gratitude's due to a beast."

This Timbs appears to have copied from Grose, *Antiquities of England and Wales*, III, new ed., n. d., p. 76, s. v. "Minster Church."

the church-yard; and inquiring the reason, was informed that the parson who stood by there, refused to bury the corpse brought for that purpose, because there was no money to pay the burial fees. His lordship, being extremely moved at the parson, ordered the people to throw him into the grave, and bury him quick; which they accordingly did, and he died. My lord went home: and there reflecting on what he had done, and fearing to forfeit his life for the offence, he wrote a petition, setting forth the nature of his offence; and hearing the queen was on board one of the ships at the Nore (to which place she came to take a view of her fleet designed to oppose the Spanish armada), he took a horse, and rode directly into the sea, and swam to the Nore, above three miles off, and coming to the ship's side, begged to see her majesty; who came immediately, and he presented his petition. The queen received, read and granted it; and he, without quitting his horse, swam back again to the island; and coming on the shore met an old woman, who told him, that though the horse had saved his life, he would be the cause of his death. His lordship, fearing (and in order to prevent) the accomplishment of the old woman's prophecy, alighted from his horse, drew his sword and killed him, and left him there; and his carcass was, by the force of the sea, thrown some little way on the land.

Some years after this, my lord, walking with some of his friends near the sea-side, espied the skull and some other bones of the horse lying there, and relating the foregoing account, happened to kick the skull and hurt one of his toes, which mortified and killed him. . . . This story is so firmly believed in that parish, that a horse's head, finely gilt, is placed as a weather-cock on the church steeple, and the figure of a horse is struck upon the spindle above that weather-cock, and the church is commonly called the Horse Church.<sup>1</sup>

Minster Church on the Isle of Thanet, the so-called Horse Church, has within it a Gothic monument, which has been supposed to be Sir Robert's. It represents a recumbent, cross-legged knight, whose head rests on a helmet.<sup>2</sup> Close to the wall is a horse's head as if emerging from the waves; on his left arm is a shield like that of a Knight Templar; at his feet stands a page.

John Timbs, an indefatigable compiler of local history and legend, reports a version which he appears to ascribe to Grose, a historian

<sup>1</sup> Essentially the same story may be found in Walpole's *New British Traveller* (1784), p. 21 (reprinted by Mansergh, *Notes and Queries*, 7th Ser., V, 157 [25 Feb., 1888]). The differences are insignificant; the lord's name is Shawlam; he goes to the clergyman's house on hearing of the refusal to bury the corpse; he swims three times around the queen's ship; his death occurs on the day following his pardon.

<sup>2</sup> Timbs, *loc. cit.*; see also a woodcut in Hone, *Table-Book*, II, col. 318. This monument may be no longer in existence, for the church has since been "restored." Grose cites Phillipot as authority for the knighting of de Shurland.

about contemporary with the publication of Hogarth's tour, but I cannot find this peculiar form of the story in the earlier work—Grose, as I have said, prints one of the versified journals of the tour—nor can I suggest an explanation for Timbs' variations from the usual story. He relates

that he [de Shurland] buried a priest alive; that he swam on his horse two miles to the King, who was then near this isle, on shipboard, to purchase his pardon, and, having obtained it, swam back to the shore, where being arrived he cut off the head of the said horse because it affirmed he had acted this by magic; and that riding a hunting a twelvemonth after, his horse stumbled and threw him on the skull of his former horse, which blow so bruised him that from the contusion he contracted an inward imposthuma-tion from which he died.

The legend of Queen Elizabeth and Lord Shorland preserved in the journal of Hogarth's tour is, as a writer in *Notes and Queries*<sup>1</sup> remarks, degraded and the figure of the hero is "evidently com-pounded in the eighteenth century, out of old and incongruous materials." Fortunately the contributor had heard the story in circulation (*ca.* 1868) and he reports it once more, with the earmarks of his own age in the handling of popular tradition, flippancy, and "fine writing." His version is as follows:

The scene of the original narrative (long ago pointed out to me on the spot) is the flat seashore between Sheerness and the Sheppey Cliffs. Hither came a knight of Sheppey, riding his favorite destrier, and ready to embark with his retainers for the third Crusade. He had already, according to the judicious practice of the age, made away with an inconvenient young woman, but the mother of that deluded female had her eye on him. She, being a "wise woman," appeared on the beach at the critical moment, just as the knight had dismounted and his war-horse was about to be coaxed into the boat. She told him that that very horse would be the avenger of her murdered offspring. "Nous verrons!" said the knight in his language; and, like another famous hero, he then and there stabbed the horse, and had it buried in the sand.

Years afterward he returned from the Crusade, and landed at the place where he had embarked. As he sprang ashore something sharp within the sand pierced his foot through and through. It was one of the skull-bones of that avenging destrier. He died, and the wise woman immediately raised her terms.

<sup>1</sup> A. J. M., 7th Ser., V, 214 (17 Mar., 1888).

R. H. Barham who tells the story under the title "Greydolphin" in the *Ingoldsby Legends* (1840) perhaps got it from the narrative of Hogarth's tour or possibly from oral tradition. He has much embellished the introductory episode of the corpse<sup>1</sup> and knows nothing about the knight's love affair. "Greydolphin" is of course the best literary form of the story. Gostling's versification of the journal has already been noted. Grose prints a third narrative, in fifty-four couplets, "hitched into doggerel rhyme," which, like Gostling's, is based on the journal. The claims of these versifications of the journal to literary merit are negligible.<sup>2</sup> The introductory lines of Gostling's account will be a sufficient example of its manner:

The Lord of *Shorland*, on a day,  
Chancing to take a ride this way,  
About a corpse observ'd a crowd,  
Against their priest complaining loud,  
That he would not the service say,  
Till somebody his fees should pay.

A queer story which Friedrich Rückert picked up somewhere and told under the title of "Schanferi" might possibly be compared with the preceding narratives of the deaths of Qrvvar Oddr, Oleg, and De Shurland. I cannot suggest a source for it; of course it is quite independent of the former story, as will appear from a brief outline:

Schanferi has sworn to kill a hundred of his enemies, but fails to accomplish his vow. Ninety-nine have fallen when he himself is killed and his skull is left on the field. An enemy who is aware of the unfulfilled vow sees the skull and with malicious joy kicks it. His rejoicing is short-lived, for a splinter breaks off "like a dagger" and pierces his foot—and the tale of the dead is complete.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The corpse which is unwelcome to its companions in the churchyard is not unknown in popular tradition, see Fellberg, *Zs. des Ver. f. Volksk.*, V (1895), 240, and Bartels, *ibid.*, X (1900), 136-37. Compare also *Revue des trad. pop.*, II (1887), 267; *ibid.*, VII (1892), 586; *Folk-Lore*, IX (1898), 372-79, No. 3.

<sup>2</sup> A curious story about the founding of Constantinople has sometimes been cited in the present connection, although it is probably unrelated. An emperor's horse trod on a skull, which said: "Why do you crush me since I can injure you, although I am dead?" The emperor took the skull home with him, burned it to powder, and put the ashes in a chest. His daughter, putting her tongue to the ashes, became pregnant, and bore a son who was expelled by his grandfather and who later founded Constantinople. Cf. Massmann, *Kaiserkronik*, III, 870 (from *Archiv für Geschichte, Statistik, Literatur und Kunst*, XVI [Vienna, 1825], 625).

<sup>3</sup> *Poetische Werke*, Frankfurt am Main, 1882, VI, 38-39 (Dritte Abtheilung: Wandering, Zweiter Theil, Fünfter Bezirk, Erbauliches und Beschauliches aus dem Morgenlande). It was first published in 1824. Boxberger (*Rückert-Studien*, 1877, p. 226) may have commented on the source, but I have not had access to that reference.

There are interesting analogues to the fate of Qrvar Oddr in the legends of other countries, and the most important one of these is worth considering in some detail. This is the North German folk-tale of the hunter Hackelberg, which is especially interesting on account of its popularity in Germany and its remarkable similarity to a Greek story with very curious connections. The folk relate that Hackelberg was killed by a dead boar, although he had been forewarned of danger by a dream (or vision). This legend is current in and about the Harz Mountains, in Hesse, Mecklenburg, and as far east as Pomerania.<sup>1</sup> The version from the Harz Mountains, which is printed by Pröhle, is typical except in the matter of Hackelberg's ennoblement:

Hans von Hackelberg, Chief Master of the Hunt in Brunswick, receives the royal command to arrange a great hunt at Harzburg. The day before he rides thither he dreams he is to die by a boar. On this account he decides not to take part in the hunt and is confirmed in his decision by his comrades. The hunt, however, goes on and a huge boar is shot. Hackelberg comes up, lifts the head to estimate its weight, and says, "You are the monster, then, that was to take my life? There is no chance of that now; you shall do me no injury." He lets the head fall and the tusk scratches his calf. This slight wound becomes worse and worse; doctors are called in vain. Hackelberg ascribes this to their lack of skill and hopes to find help in Brunswick. On his way thither he is overtaken by darkness and stops at his hunting-lodge in Wülperode. There he dies, but before his death he wishes that he might hunt to the Last Judgment.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Occasionally the story is attached to other figures than Hackelberg: for example, Wode (Kuhn, *Sagen aus Westfalen*, I, 359, No. 400, which is reprinted in Jahn, *Volks-sagen aus Pommern*, p. 8, compare Brunk, *Zs. d. Ver. f. Volksk.*, XIII [1903], 190–91); Klützke (Kuhn, I, 163, No. 406); Brems (Kuhn, *Märkische Sagen*, pp. 218–19, No. 205); Elector Joachim (Kuhn and Schwartz, *Norddeutsche Sagen*, p. 83, which is reprinted in W. Schwartz, *Prähistorisch-anthropologische Studien*, p. 34); and an unnamed hero (Nodnager, *Zs. f. deut. Mythol.*, I [1853], 30–31; W. Schwartz, "Volkstümliches aus Lauterberg am Harz," *Zs. f. Ethnol.*, XXXVIII [1896], 158).

The best study of the Hackelberg legend (without much emphasis, however, on the story of his death) is by P. Zimmermann, "Die Sage von Hackelberg, dem wilden Jäger," *Zs. des Harzver. f. Gesch. u. Altertumsk.*, XII (1880), 1–26; see also Grimm, *Deutsche Mythol.*, pp. 768–69; E. H. Meyer, *Germanische Mythologie*, 1891, p. 244, sec. 322; and the excellent summary in Plischke, *Die Sage vom wilden Heere im deutschen Volke*, Leipzig Diss., 1914, pp. 43–46.

<sup>2</sup> *Harssagen*<sup>1</sup>, Leipzig, 1886, p. 71, No. 110 (1859, I, 245). This story is also localized at "Ustar im Hannöver'schen," see Pröhle, p. 72. Schambach and Müller (*Niedersächsische Sagen und Märchen*, p. 72, No. 98) say he died at Klöpperkrug and tell the same story. Cf. further Kuhn and Schwartz, p. 180, No. 203, 1; *ibid.*, p. 237, No. 265, 2; Schambach and Müller, p. 70, No. 97 (reprinted in E. Platner, "Einiges über die Volkssagen der Göttinger Umgegend," *Protokolle über die Sitz. d. Ver. f. Gesch. Göttingens* III, 27); Harland, "Sagen und Mythen auf dem Sollinge," *Zs. d. hist. Ver. f. Niedersachsen*, 1878, p. 77; Kuhn, *Sagen aus Westfalen*, II, 6–7, No. 18; and the tales cited below.

A legend recorded by Kuhn shows certain variations of interest:

Three days before a great boar-hunt is to be held in the Grämnitz forest the forester Bärens goes out to feed the swine. While on this errand at midnight he hears a voice from the neighboring quarry saying, "Is the stumpy tail there which is to kill forester Bärens?" He hears these words again the next night and on the morrow tells the Elector about it, declaring at the same time his suspicion that it might be some one who wished to terrify him. The Elector commands him to say nothing and to stay at home the next night. In his place the gun-cocker of the Elector watches and feeds the swine, and he too hears the voice. The hunt is held and Bärens remains at home. When it is over he rides out and finds a short-tailed sow which they are about to put on a wagon. He walks up to it, saying, "You were to take my life and are dead before me." In some way the head of the sow suddenly falls and tears open his body, so that he dies in a few moments. He is buried on the spot, which is marked by stones erected in a circle. It is still called Bärens' grave.<sup>1</sup>

One of the versions first taken down has Hackelberg himself slay the boar:

One night while Hackelberg is in deep sleep he dreams that he is fighting with a boar which finally overcomes him. Later the dream is realized, except that he slays the boar. Filled with joy he stamps on the prostrate beast and shouts, "Strike now, if you can." In doing this he treads with such violence on the boar's tusks that he wounds himself. The wound becomes inflamed and at last causes his death.<sup>2</sup>

A story which misses the point entirely may be cited in conclusion. It is told of the Luchsagdschloss in Pomerania:

Klützke dreams that he kills a boar which has wounded him. Warned by his dream he stays at home and when he goes down from the castle after the hunt he finds among the game just such a boar as he had seen in his dream. When he lifts it from the wagon it slips out of his hands and the tusk runs into his leg, so that he is sick for a long time, although he finally recovers.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Märkische Sagen*, pp. 218-19, No. 205. Similarly Hackelberg hears in the night before his death a voice which cries, "Aldrian, hës du den kempen all inédan, dei Hackelberg soll daud slan?"—Kuhn, *Sagen aus Westfalen*, I, 328 ff. This the editor is inclined to relate to the story of the dog which the Wild Hunter leaves behind and which rejoins the chase on the anniversary of its desertion; but the connection is not obvious. E. H. Meyer (*Germ. Mythol.*, 1891, p. 259, sec. 341) sees mythological significance in the name Aldrian and makes some further comparisons which lead into other stories.

<sup>2</sup> Otmar, *Volkssagen*, pp. 249-50 (cited by Grimm, *Deutsche Mythol.*, p. 768, and *Deutsche Sagen*, I, 399, No. 310).

<sup>3</sup> Kuhn, *Sagen aus Westfalen*, I, 163, No. 406, "Der Traum vom Eber."

These examples illustrate sufficiently the North German legend of Hackelberg's death.<sup>1</sup> Notwithstanding the fact that Hackelberg and Wode are both "wild hunters" in many North German tales, the relation of the story of their end to the myth of the Wild Hunt is superficial. The wish to chase forever does not spring naturally from the story of the boar hunt and its unhappy ending. A feeling of vexation that so insignificant a wound should bring death causes Wode to cry, "If I am to die from the dead boar, then I wish to hunt forever," or Hackelberg to say, "Since I am to die without having gone hunting, then I wish to hunt forever."<sup>2</sup> But this wish and consequently the forced connection with the Wild Hunt are often lacking in the German folk-tales.<sup>3</sup> For this reason one is inclined to believe that the story is but a floating, unattached episode which has occasionally and locally been brought into association with the myth.<sup>4</sup> If this is true there are in the combination of the episode with the Wild Hunt no mythological secrets of the sort E. H. Meyer and others have found: "This tale [of Hackelberg] rests on a myth of the chase of the mantle-bearing<sup>5</sup> storm-god Wodan and the whirlwind which uproots the earth and which is surrounded by flashes of

<sup>1</sup> E. H. Meyer (*Germ. Mythol.*, 1891, p. 245, sec. 322) speaks of "unsichere Andeutungen des Eberjägers" in Haupt, *Lausitz*, I, 121; Wolf, *Ndl. Sagen*, p. 615; Meier, *Schwab. Sagen*, p. 122; Lütfolf, *Sagen, Brüche und Legenden aus den fünf Orten*, p. 28; Rochholz, *A. S.*, I, 93, 101; Plischke (p. 43) adds Gräße, *Sagenbuch des preussischen Staates*, I, 292; Temme, *Die Volks sagen der Altmark*, 1839, p. 37; Voges, *Sagen aus dem Lande Braunschweig*, 1895, p. 1; Nork (in Scheibele's *Kloster*, IX, 375) cites Gräße, *Volkssagen und volkstümliche Denkmale der Lausitz*, Bautzen, 1839, p. 191.

<sup>2</sup> Kuhn, *Sagen aus Westfalen*, I, 359, No. 400 (Wode); Schambach and Müller, p. 70, No. 97 (Hackelberg). Mannhardt (*Wald- und Feldkulte*, II, 44) aptly compares the death of Pholos in the *Heracles*: Pholos drew an arrow from the body of a centaur and while he was marveling that so small a thing could cause death the arrow slipped from his hand and injured him mortally in the foot, cf. Apollodorus II.5.4; Diodorus Siculus IV.70.

<sup>3</sup> E.g., Nodnager, *Zs. f. deut. Mythol.*, I (1853), 30–31; Kuhn and Schwartz, p. 236, No. 265, 1, and p. 237, No. 265, 2; W. Schwartz, *Prähistorisch-anthropologische Studien*, p. 34; Kuhn, *Sagen aus Westfalen*, I, 163, No. 406; Otmar, *Volkssagen*, pp. 249–50.

<sup>4</sup> The myth has acquired other originally independent stories by a similar process of accretion. In Lancashire an old story which has no other associations with the Wild Hunt is used to explain the origin of the chase, see *Mod. Philol.*, XVII (1919), 308. Stories of the changeling cycle are also brought into the myth, cf. Gruber, *Sagen aus Kärnten*, 1914, pp. 86–87, No. 105; Grimm, *Deutsche Mythol.*, p. 773, etc.

<sup>5</sup> The adjective is suggested by the probably erroneous etymologizing of Hackelberg as "hacol-berand," i.e., mantle-bearing; cf. Plischke, p. 46. On the etymology see Grimm, *Deutsche Mythol.*, pp. 770, 836; Andree, *Braunschweiger Volkskunde*, p. 98; Hoefer, *Germania*, XV (1870), 414; Kuhn, *Sagen aus Westfalen*, II, 13; Rochholz, I, 81.

lightning, i.e., a boar with flashing tusks and flaming throat which races along in the Furious Host."<sup>1</sup>

With more reason Meyer finds peculiar and possibly mythical significance in the choice of a boar as the animal to kill Hackelberg; many divine and semidivine beings have died in similar fashion;<sup>2</sup> but in most instances there is no mention of a premonitory dream.<sup>3</sup> An interesting parallel containing the ominous dream is Herodotus' account of the death of Atys, which is thought to be a doublet of the legend of Attis.

The proud Croesus, king of Lydia, dreams that his son Atys will die from the blow of an iron weapon. Alarmed by the dream he makes his son take a wife, forbids him to accompany the Lydian forces in the field, and removes all weapons from the prince's apartments. About the same time Adrastus, a Phrygian bearing the stain of blood, prays to be admitted to purification. Croesus purifies him and welcomes him as a member of a friendly house. A little later the Mysians, who are plagued by a boar, ask help of Croesus. The king chooses a band of Lydians to aid them, but refuses Atys permission to go. The latter complains of the restrictions put upon him, saying, "Now the dream, thou saidst thyself, foretold that I should die stricken by an iron weapon. But what hands has a boar to strike with? What iron weapon does it wield? Had the dream said that I should die pierced by a tusk, then thou hadst done well to keep me away." Croesus yields and puts his son under the guardianship of Adrastus. The picked company depart and easily find and encircle the boar. While they are throwing darts at it, the spear of Adrastus misses its mark and pierces Atys, inflicting a mortal wound. Although Croesus forgives Adrastus, the latter kills himself on his victim's grave.<sup>4</sup>

Comparison with the myth of Attis and with other analogous stories makes it probable, think the mythologists, that Atys really died

<sup>1</sup> E. H. Meyer, *Germ. Mythol.*, 1891, p. 245, sec. 322, cf. p. 102, sec. 138; see also W. Schwartz, *Zs. d. Ver. f. Volksk.*, VII (1897), 11; Wuttke, *Der deutsche Volksaberglaube*, p. 19, sec. 16; Müllenhoff and Scherer, *Denkmäler*, II, 131. Zimmermann (*Zs. d. Hessver.*, XII [1880], 17) sees difficulties in this sort of explanation and connects the story with the myth of Baldur. Plischke seems inclined to compare it with the story of Meleager.

<sup>2</sup> See the lists in Grimm, *Deutsche Mythol.*, p. 768, n. 4, and III, 280, and in Gruppe, pp. 806, 1907. Naumann (*Beiträge sur Geschichte d. deut. Sprache*, XLV [1921], 473-77, "Der grosse Eber") gives a suggestive list. Cf. Simrock, *Handbuch der deut. Mythol.*, *passim* and J. L. Weston, *From Ritual to Romance*, pp. 41 ff.

<sup>3</sup> For such dreams cf. Benezé, *Das Traummotiv in der mittelhochdeutschen Dichtung*, Halle, 1897, pp. 30 ff., 42 ff.; Vaschide and Piéron, "Prophetic Dreams in Greek and Roman Antiquity," *Monist*, XI (1901), 161-94 (also in *Bull. soc. anthrop.*, XIII); R. Mentz, *Träume in den alfranzösischen Karls- und Artusepen*, Marburg, 1888, pp. 26 ff.

<sup>4</sup> I. 34-45; cf. Val. Max. i. 7. ext. 4 (ed. Kempf, pp. 40-41). Cf. Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris: Studies in Oriental Religion*, p. 183, cf. pp. 8, 164; Gruppe, p. 1531, etc.

from a boar and that Herodotus is reporting a rationalized version of the story.<sup>1</sup> Hepding, the author of a recent monograph on Attis, believes that the story of the boar, which was current in Asia Minor, was incorporated into the legends of Atys and Attis.<sup>2</sup> Observe also that in the later forms of the Attis myth the boar is replaced by a snake, thus bringing the story nearer to that of Qrvvar Oddr (cf. Gruppe, p. 950, n. 1).

The mythological associations of this story are extremely curious.<sup>3</sup> The death-dealing boar is supposed to be of Egyptian origin, and the story of Atys and Attis is thought to spring from the same root as the legend of Adonis, which the Syrians borrowed from Egypt. The ultimate source, moreover, of both the Syrian and the Greek (Lydian) story is seen in the puzzling and only partially intelligible legends of Seth, who is represented in the form of an animal variously interpreted as a wild ass, an antelope, etc. "It is possible," says Professor Müller,<sup>4</sup> "that it [Seth in animal form] was likened to a boar as well, and that the whole religious prejudice of Asia and Africa against pork goes back to this identification." He thinks (pp. 124–25) that the beginning of this notion may be found in the myth which narrates how a black hog penetrated into the eye of Horus.

Remoter parallels to the deaths of Qrvvar Oddr and Hackelberg may be collected according to one's fancy; but none of them seems to have enjoyed any wide popularity. Such parallels are probably quite independent of each other and of the legends which I have discussed above. A not dissimilar story, for example, among the Aesopic fables runs as follows:

A father dreams that a fierce lion rushes out of the forest and tears his son in pieces. Warned by the dream, he forbids the boy to hunt and confines him in a wonderful tower the walls of which are adorned with paintings of beasts and birds. While the restless youth walks about he catches sight of a lion among the pictures. He complains to it about his imprisonment and,

<sup>1</sup> See particularly E. Meyer in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, II, col. 2262.

<sup>2</sup> "Attis, seine Mythen und sein Kult," *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten*, I (Giessen, 1903), 101.

<sup>3</sup> See Gruppe (particularly p. 948), Pauly-Wissowa, and Roscher, *et al.* Adonis, Adrastus, Attis, Atys; compare also Carus, *Monist*, XI (1901), 516 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Mythology of All Races*, XII, *Egyptian*, p. 389, n. 33, cf. p. 399, n. 111. See H. Boussac, "L'animal sacré de Set-Typhon et ses divers modes d'interprétation," *Rev. de l'hist. des religions*, LXXXII (1920), 189–208, with a note by E. Trovaessart, pp. 208–9.

becoming warm, strikes it so that a nail pierces his hand. The wound becomes inflamed, festers, and finally a fever brings death.<sup>1</sup>

No animal at all appears in a dream which warns Caradoc in the thirteenth-century *Vita Meriadoci* of his fate, but the incident may be referred to here as an example of a not infrequent form of the story:

Caradoc dreams that he is pierced with arrows by two men who received them from the hand of Griffith. Notwithstanding the fright which the dream causes him and the attempt of the queen to dissuade him from carrying out his intention, Caradoc goes forth to hunt. Owing to his age he falls behind his companions and is slain under circumstances similar to those of which he had been warned in the dream.<sup>2</sup>

A modern English folk-tale shows that the notion of a prophecy which is fulfilled in spite of all obstacles is not yet forgotten:

A rich man refuses to lift a witch's child out of the mire and in revenge she prophesies that he shall have a son and that the boy shall die before his twenty-first year. To protect the boy the father keeps him in a tower with but one window, sending up the necessaries by a rope. On the boy's twenty-first birthday a bundle of wood to warm the tower is drawn up, and concealed in the faggots is a snake. From its bite the boy dies. "She wor a bad un, wor that witch," concludes the narrator.<sup>3</sup>

And finally a remote analogue may be seen in the old story of the river-spirit which rises from the water crying, "The hour is come, but the man is not." Before the end of the hour, however, a stranger hastens up and despite the efforts of the bystanders to prevent him starts to cross the river and drowns in the attempt.<sup>4</sup>

The gathering of more such stories would not throw more light on the questions at issue. A random collection (containing no

<sup>1</sup> Halm, *Fabulae Aesopicae collectae*, No. 349, Ήτει καὶ περιπό; B. Waldis, *Esope*, III, 40 (ed. Tittmann, II, 36-37). I do not find it in Joseph Jacobs, *Fables of Aesop*. For parallels see the editions of Waldis by Tittmann and by Kurs, and Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes*, VIII, 105, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Bruce, *Publ. of the Mod. Lang. Ass.*, XV (1900), 342 ff., cf. p. 398.

<sup>3</sup> Henderson, *Notes on the Folk-Lore of the Northern Counties*, London, 1866, p. 336. No. 11, "The Prophecy." Cf. R. Köhler, *Kleinere Schriften*, I, 47, No. 11. There is a further striking parallel in the *Mahābhārata*, see Hertel, *Indische Märchen*, Jena, 1921, pp. 24-33, No. 10, and compare with it R. Basset, "Contes et légendes arabes, 724," *Rev. des trad. pop.*, XXI (1906), 143.

<sup>4</sup> See Gervaise of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia* (ed. Liebrecht), p. 38 and notes, p. 136; Liebrecht, *Germania*, XXXI (1886), 354, and *Zs. f. rom. Philol.*, VI (1882), 451; Rhys, *Celtic Folklore*, I, 243; Miss Dempster, *Folk-Lore Journal*, VI (1888), 240; Marquer, *Revue des trad. pop.*, VII (1892), 215-16; Scott, *Heart of Middlothian*, chap. iv and note; Hunt, *Popular Romances of the West of England*, pp. 361, 366; *Y Cymroddor*, V, 137; *Volkskunde* (Ghent), XXI, 76-77; Laistner, *Rätsel der Sphinx*, II, 364.

striking or significant parallels) may be found in an article on the Atys story of Herodotus, which discusses chiefly two conceptions of fate exemplified by the tales.<sup>1</sup> In one group fate is represented as unescapable, in the other the conception is somewhat softened by a faith in an all-wise Providence. But such considerations as these are of little help in studying the story of the death of Qrvor Oddr. The comments of Herodotus' account are a little more to the point. The death of Atys, Klinger believes (p. 21), is of popular manufacture and not solely associated with the Lydian house. Atys may have died young, and thus have given cause for the attachment of the story to his name. Except for that possibility there is no historical truth in the narrative of his end. Analogous stories of fate are, he remarks, particularly frequent in south Slavic folk literature.<sup>2</sup> From this fact he would deduce a connection in oral tradition between Herodotus (or the folk-tale behind the history) and the modern tales. And this opinion he puts forth more emphatically in his conclusion:

Thus, in a whole series of instances we have succeeded in tracing a direct transmission of classical tales to the living tradition of modern races (the stories of Adrastus, Oedipus, Rhampsinitus). This compels one to acknowledge in the case of tales, stories, and in part of legends, the fact, which has been acknowledged much earlier in the case of popular proverbs, and which, apparently, would not be difficult to prove in the case of folk-riddles.<sup>3</sup>

In spite of all this Klinger has not made a very strong case for transmission in this particular instance and he has not cleared the atmosphere much by his collection of parallels.<sup>4</sup>

It is obvious that some, no doubt many, of these stories developed independently. The notion of a prophetic dream conveying a warning and coupled with its fulfilment in spite of hindrances which

<sup>1</sup> Klinger, "Skazočnye motivy iz istorii Herodota," *Universitetskia Izvestia* (Kiev), XLII (November, 1902), 19-32.

<sup>2</sup> He cites (1) mythical parallels: Hyacinth (Ovid *Met.* X. 184); Adonis (*ibid.* x. 288); Attis (Ovid *Past.* iv. 221; Pausanias vii. 17. 9-12); Achilles; (2) folk-tales: Maspero, *Les contes populaires de l'Egypte ancienne*, "Le prince prédestiné," pp. 229-44; Krauss, *Sagen und Märchen der Südslaven*, II, Nos. 47, 52, 64, 66, 78, 88, 99, 102, 104, 105; Gonzenbach, No. 55; Grimm, "Dornröschen," No. 50; Hyginus *Fab.* 28; Achilles Tatius II. 34; Schwab, *Deutsche Volksbücher*, IV, 4-8. Such a collection can be used to prove anything or nothing.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, XLIII (March, 1903), 193-94. Cf. also Polivka's summary, *Zs. d. Ver. f. Volksk.*, XIII (1903), 346.

<sup>4</sup> The persistence of classical story in modern tradition (except the fable) is now pretty generally questioned; see Dawkins, *Modern Greek in Asia Minor*, p. 217.

appear to be insuperable bears the stamp of no time or place. Only in rare instances would it be probable that an elaborated story based on such an idea could or would be carried from one nation to another, and only when the story possesses very characteristic features can the borrowing be demonstrated. Such a rare instance, however, is the story of the death of Qrvar Oddr, which was carried to and localized in the south of England. The situation as regards the Russian versions is more puzzling, although they are certainly related to the Norse saga. The consensus of opinion now favors the view that the Russians were the borrowers rather than the lenders. Beyond this it is hard to go. The significance of the similarities in the Hackelberg legend and its parallels is uncertain. At any rate its interpretation as a myth seems to fall in the first instance to the student of Greek or Egyptian mythology, since it is not a myth but a floating tale so far as the Germans are concerned. I shall not venture to guess whether the German story is a descendant of the Greco-Egyptian myth or whether there is a possible connection between the deaths of Atys, of Hackelberg, and of Qrvar Oddr. One fact at least is reasonably clear: a story has been traced with some show of probability from Scandinavia to Russia and also to England. That these routes were once culturally important has long been recognized, but a demonstration of their having been traversed by a folk-tale is not without interest and significance.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> I have already shown that one Middle High German tale came into Germany from the North, cf. *Mod. Philol.*, XVII (1919), 306-7.

## THE RELATION OF COWLEY'S "PINDARICS" TO PINDAR'S ODES

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Of late years several more or less successful attempts have been made to correct prevailing misconceptions concerning the influence of Abraham Cowley on succeeding writers, as well as concerning his reputation, popularity, and actual contributions to English literature. More has been said about his "Pindaric" odes, perhaps, than about any other class of his writings; and yet much remains to be done on this subject.<sup>1</sup> The articles by Edmund Gosse on "Ode" and "Pindarics" in the current (eleventh) edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* are indicative of the preponderance of popular opinion, and are so mistaken in several particulars that they should be corrected.

It will be sufficient to quote a part of the treatment of "Pindarics":

. . . . The invention is due to Abraham Cowley, who, probably in Paris . . . . and perhaps in 1650, found a text of Pindar and determined to imitate the Greek poetry in English, without having comprehended the system upon which Pindar's prosody was built up. . . . The erroneous form of these poems [the Pindarics of Cowley and his imitators], which were absolutely without discipline of structure, was first exposed by Congreve, exactly half a century later, he very justly describing them as "bundles of rambling incoherent thoughts, expressed in a like parcel of irregular stanzas, which also consist of such another complication of disproportioned, uncertain and perplexed verses and rhymes." This is harsh, but it describes a pindaric with absolute justice. Cowley had not been aware that "there is nothing more regular than the odes of Pindar." . . . . These excellent critical remarks were made by Congreve in his *Discourse on the Pindarique Ode* of 1706, and from that date forward the use of pindarics ceased to be so lax and frantic as it had been during the previous fifty years. . . . . Although the vogue of these forms hardly survived the age of Anne, something of the vicious tradition of them still remained. . . . .

<sup>1</sup> For one of the best discussions of this matter see the chapter on "The Odes of Cowley," in Robert Shafer, *The English Ode to 1660* (Princeton, 1918), pp. 123-57.  
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Others have already suggested or stated the true case of the continued popularity of the Pindaric after Congreve's *Discourse*,<sup>1</sup> and still others have defended Cowley against the charge that he was too poor a Greek scholar and too little a poet to appreciate the real form of Pindar's odes.<sup>2</sup> Concerning the latter point, it is enough to quote three or four phrases from Cowley's own prefatory words to the first two odes which he published:<sup>3</sup> ". . . we must consider that our Ears are Strangers to the Musick of his Numbers"; "he that understands not the Original"; "this libertine way of rendring foreign Authors"; "Grammarians and Criticks have labour'd to reduce his Verses into regular Feet and Measures"; "This Essay is but to try how it will look in an English Habit." And so on.

More important to our present purpose, however, are two other statements made by Mr. Gosse. The first is his implication that Congreve was attacking Cowley in his *Discourse*. This is what Congreve says:<sup>4</sup> "The Character of these late Pindarics, is, a Bundle of rambling incoherent Thoughts," and so forth, as quoted above. Is Congreve thinking of Cowley here? He is far from saying so in "these late Pindarics." But what does he actually say five or six pages later on?

Having mentioned Mr. *Cowley*, it may very well be expected, that Something should be said of him, at a Time when the Imitation of *Pindar* is the Theme of our Discourse. But there is that Deference due to the Memory, great Parts, and Learning of that Gentleman, that I think Nothing should be objected to the Latitude he has taken in his Pindaric Odes. The Beauty of his Verses, are [sic] an Atonement for the Irregularity of his Stanzas; and though he did not imitate *Pindar* in the Strictness of his Numbers, he has very often happily copied him in the Force of his Figures, and Sublimity of his Style and Sentiments.

Yet I must beg Leave to add, that I believe those irregular Odes of Mr. *Cowley*, may have been the principal, though innocent, Occasion, of so many deformed Poems since. . . .

In the second place, is it possible that from the publication of Cowley's odes in 1656 to Congreve's essay in 1706 there was no one

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, the list of Pindarics given in Schipper, *Englische Metrik*, II, 809 ff.; or compare Gosse's own truer estimate in his *Seventeenth Century Studies* (New York, 1897) p. 216.

<sup>2</sup> See Shafer, *op. cit.*, pp. 151-55.

<sup>3</sup> Cowley, *Works* (ed. Grosart, 1881), II, 4.

<sup>4</sup> Congreve, *Works* (Birmingham, 1761), III, 429 and 435.

well enough acquainted with Greek to perceive that the form of Cowley's odes was not that of his original, Pindar?<sup>1</sup> It is hard to conceive. Many must have commented upon it; but one man at least wrote and published his criticisms. This man was Edward Phillips, Milton's nephew, in his *Theatrum Poetarum*, 1675.

In his "Preface" Phillips analyzes various verse forms found in poetry:<sup>2</sup>

. . . And in like manner the *Italian Sonnet* and *Canzon* [are] above *PINDARIC* Ode, which, whatever the name pretends, comes not so near in resemblance to the Odes of *Pindarus*, as the *Canzon*: which, though it answers not so exactly as to consist of *Stroph*, *Antistroph*, and *Epod*, yet the Verses, which in the first *Stroph* of the *Canzon* were tied to no fixed number order or measure, nevertheless in the following Strophs return in the same number order and measure as were observed in the first:—whereas that, which we call the *Pindarie*, hath a nearer affinity with the *Monostrophic*, or *Apolylemenon*, used in the Choruses of *Aeschylus*'s tragedies.

And again, in his account of Cowley himself, he speaks of "Abraham Cowley, the most applauded poet of our nation both of the present and past ages," and of

his *Pindaric Odes*, so called, I suppose, from the measure in which he translated the first *Ithmian* [sic] and *Nemean Odes*, whereas the very form of those Odes in the Original is very different: and yet in imitation of him, tis pleasant to observe what a notable trade hath been driven of late in Pindaric Odes.<sup>3</sup>

Thus even if Cowley's own classical attainments, so often alluded to by his biographer, Bishop Sprat, and by his contemporaries, did not enable him to appreciate Pindar, it is at least certain that there were those nearer his own time who understood him and what he was doing better than do most modern readers and critics.

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<sup>1</sup> Harold Child, too, in his chapter on "Drayton" in the *Camb. Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, IV, 213, falls into almost the same error as Gosse's when he says, "The Pindaric ode had already been imitated by Jonson: it went on being imitated with an irregularity that Congreve was the earliest author to reprobate."

<sup>2</sup> Phillips, "Preface," *Theat. Poet.* (Geneva, 1824), p. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Phillips, "Abraham Cowley," *Theat. Poet.* pp. 32-33.



## TO THE READERS OF MODERN PHILOLOGY

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Our readers will observe that with the present issue *Modern Philology* returns to the quarterly form of publication. It was thus that the journal began in June, 1903, and continued to appear until the end of the eleventh volume in 1914. At that time, the editors felt justified in increasing the size of the journal, first to ten, and then to twelve annual issues, so arranged as to group the subject-matter in the separate sections of English, Romance Languages, German, and General Literature. Editorially the new plan was successful; and then came the war and the enormous increase in the cost of publication.

During the past three years the University of Chicago has very generously made up the large annual deficit thus incurred. But while the University will continue to support the journal with a handsome subsidy, it will henceforth be unable to meet any deficit over and above the subsidy.

Hence the return of *Modern Philology* to four annual issues of approximately one hundred and twelve pages each.

We appeal to our readers to give us their support. At no time, in our opinion, has scholarship in modern languages and literatures been in greater need of adequate media of publication. Not only is the material awaiting publication abundant, but it is increasingly of a higher grade and broader interest. In proportion as our subscriptions increase, the number of pages we publish will grow; and we therefore urge all who are interested in modern languages to lend us their active aid.

In the meantime, no change will be made in the editorial policy or in the typographical style of the journal. Our separate issues will be so planned as to give proportional space in each number to the various subjects that the journal represents. In the fourth issue of each volume we shall give also short notices of the most important books in the field of modern languages and literatures. Books are, however, accepted for review only with the understanding

that the editors reserve the right to choose from among the volumes submitted those suitable for the purposes of the journal. In this way, the editors hope to reduce the cost of *Modern Philology* without impairing its usefulness as a medium of sound and informing scholarship.

Lastly the editors have devised a plan for the publication of a series of Monographs in Modern Languages, to be issued under separate cover but in conjunction with the journal, as occasion and funds permit. It appears probable that money for this purpose will be available from private sources.

With the return, then, to the quarterly form, we couple the hope of increased usefulness and better opportunity for the publication of longer studies. The continued success of *Modern Philology* lies in the encouragement we receive from our contributors and our subscribers!

# Modern Philology

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## THE FUNDAMENTAL IDEAS IN HERDER'S THOUGHT. III

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### Chap. II

#### EXTENSION OF THE PRINCIPLE OF PERSONALITY

The essence of personality is spontaneity, conceived by Herder as an individual force, which is the "true and real source" in the Leibnitzian definition, or the "first cause," of action. His principle of personality is thus a synthetic unity involving the two abstract elements of individuality and spontaneity. In the interpretation and application of this principle it is of the first importance to bear in mind Herder's fundamental axiom, which was seen exemplified in the eleventh chapter of his first *Wäldchen*,<sup>1</sup> and which dominates the entire order of his thought, to wit, that concrete individualities are the primary facts of reality and that generalizations are derivative.

He did not limit the principle of personality, as was the custom of eighteenth-century ideology, to an abstract, absolute atomic unit called man, but endeavored to trace it in every important, concrete relation which an unequaled gift of specific discernment revealed to him. All of which comes to this, that he was the first to realize and fully set forth the fundamental truth that the essence

<sup>1</sup> See p. 298 of chap. i of this essay, *Modern Philology*, XVIII (October, 1920).  
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of personality can be found, not in any abstract conception of individuality, but only in a synthetic unity (which one might liken to the molecular entities of physics) of characteristic traits. The eighteenth-century atomism really destroyed the substance of individuality by eliminating the characteristic part of each concrete form of personality. It was Herder, in transforming Leibnitz' too abstract conception of the monad, who attained to the idea on which rests the fundamental belief of modern humanism, and which is its only fortress against the forces of regimentation which are growing ever stronger in the present age—the belief that every concrete individual is essentially different from every other and can never be replaced.

In Herder's view, the synthetic principle of personality as individuated spontaneity is primary but not absolute; it is universal, yet infinitely differentiated; it is an integral part of the general physical, physiological, biological, in short, the entire mechanical, organism of nature and yet embodies a wholly spontaneous, autonomous, and responsible force. The one problem at the roots of all his ideas was, therefore, to trace the empirical forms of personality in all their chief relations and to define the spontaneous part of each of these forms as the characteristic residue which could in no manner, except by overgeneralization and indiscriminate assumption, be reduced to the terms of mechanical science or rationalistic objective abstraction. He has thereby fixed the problem of personality in philosophy as well as in science. Neither philosophers nor biologists have to this day been able to add material clarification to the problem of the primary relations between the principles of spontaneity and physical mechanism. There is no scientific or philosophical proof that spontaneity may or may not be an integral part of the mechanism of nature, and vice versa.

The relations which Herder indefatigably pursued throughout his enormous intellectual activity, form three main groups, namely: the relation of collective extension, involving particularly the conceptions of *Volk* and *Humanität*; the physiological relation of physical growth, organization, and function; and that of ultimate identity or idealization, the metaphysical relation, which culminates in the conception of God.

Herder's gift of specific discernment and virile sense of relevance in the interpretation of each concrete detail of these varying relations is unsurpassed. His fundamental problems are substantially the problems of present humanism. And with his extraordinary power of imagination and criticism he combined a tireless energy and an indefatigable zeal which have made him both the most philosophic and the most inspiring critic. Many of the details of his information are now obsolete, much of his history is wrong, many of his scientific hypotheses are now merely rudimentary guesses, as all concrete facts of information become either commonplace or false in the course of time, yet his methods of analysis, his standards of relevance and specific bearing, his genius for seizing upon the crucial part of the expressions of personality remain substantially unassailable. He has revealed the principal factors of individual spontaneity in its characteristic activities, and laid down, once for all, the essential forms of combination and the criteria of these entities. Thus he is, to a far higher degree and, above all, to a much more specific and definitive effect than the present age realizes, the father of modern humanism.

The subject of the present chapter is the collective relation of Herder's principle of personality. Discussion of the other two relations will follow next.

#### "VOLK" AND "HUMANITÄT"

Herder's greatest critical competence and principal imaginative interests lay in the field of literature. Regarding, as he did, language as the chief associative function of the mind, and literature as the "discourse of perfect sensibility," i.e., the discourse in which the activities of all the senses attained fullest unity, he could not but judge representative literature the truest and most characteristic expression and record of the spirit of man. His first task was, obviously, to discover the criteria of representativeness in literature. He proceeded by analysis and comparison of those works of literature known to his age which were generally accepted as the greatest. His aim was thus inductively to ascertain both the principal qualities characteristic of each ethnic, which roughly coincided with each linguistic, group, and those common to all these groups. The

former would furnish the character of each ethnic personality, the latter, what might be considered as the essential character of humanity.

Herder's conception of spontaneity as the integral expression of all the powers of personality associated him historically with the general romantic naturalism of his age, which culminated in Rousseau's identification of spontaneity with nature, and later degenerated into the extreme Romantic animistic dream of a sensational-emotional monism, in which spontaneity, while verbally raised to infinite power, was actually reduced to a purely passive function of the physiological mechanism of temperament in the guise of an individual gesture of an absolute animistic fate.<sup>1</sup> Misled by the superficial resemblance between Herder's and Rousseau's uses of spontaneity and nature, critical opinion has generally acquiesced in the assumption that Herder was really the founder of German Romanticism, whereas in reality even when Goethe leaned strongly toward Romanticism and Schiller wavered, at the time of his aesthetic poems, Herder throughout maintained his uncompromising opposition to the arbitrary subjectivity essential to the Romantic mind. By this false generalization, attention is diverted from the most important fact that Herder was the first aesthetic theorist since Aristotle to assert and establish with surpassing acumen and variety of exemplification the dependence of any theory of poetry and art on the creative processes and therewith the necessity of directing aesthetic inquiry inductively toward these processes rather than toward absolute generalizations, whether in the impersonal terms of Rationalism or in the subjective terms of Romanticism. Herder stood apart from both these one-sided movements. He aimed at the fundamental subjectivity, which is the source of all poetry and art, but he pursued his aim by the impersonal methods of induction.

Herder, while he differed with Aristotle in most of his particular conclusions, yet was in essential agreement with the methods of the founder of inductive logic, a circumstance which alone suffices to dispose of the view which groups him with the Romanticists.

<sup>1</sup> See for this characteristic Romantic corruption of the idea of spontaneity my paper, "Studies in the Mind of Romanticism," *Modern Philology* (German Section), XVI (February, 1919), 123 ff., 130, 131; XVII (June, 1919), 32 ff.

He was the first modern critic and poet to collect the best and most representative poetical productions of all the peoples to which he had access. This, the first international thesaurus, he translated with great skill and fidelity, and analyzed with the discriminating sympathy and the enthusiasm, both disinterested and purposeful, which distinguishes the great humanist. He hoped thus, by precept and example, to awaken the genius of his own people, and with it that of all the others, to a new springtide of creative idealism.

His conception of the natural man is not, as the Romantic conception, an a priori, absolute postulate but a generalization based on a comprehensive and finely discriminating examination of all the evidence available, and, therefore, conditioned by concrete reality. Natural man, according to him, is a generalization derived from comparison of the collective personalities of the existing ethnic groups as embodied in their representative literatures.

If, now, folk personality is the primary creator of poetry, then it must, in accordance with his and Aristotle's principles of aesthetic induction, be also the ultimate judge of it. In other words, only that part of a people's poetry is properly representative of it, is properly informed with its essential collective personality, which has been approved and permanently accepted by its collective judgment. In Herder's term, all "folk literature" must be "literature of the people." It must be *volksmässig*. Herder originated the term *Volksliteratur* or *Volkspoesie* in its modern meaning. He alternated the terms frequently with *Litteratur* or *Poesie des Volks*, emphasizing now the originative, now the appropriative, relation.

It is in this test of *Volksmässigkeit*, agreement with folk character, that difficulties enter, which, though they complicate some of the detailed applications of the term *Volk*, are yet readily analyzed and interpreted as consistent aspects and functions of collective personality.<sup>1</sup>

The term *Volk*, "folk," has at all times been subject to much vagueness and contradictoriness of usage. Most of this confusion

<sup>1</sup> This question is fully discussed by Dr. Georgiana Simpson, one of my students, in her dissertation on *Herder's Conception of "Das Volk."* which is soon to be published. The subject of the present paper, which is the collective aspect of Herder's theory of personality, involves only the essential criteria of folk personality which determine his conclusions.

can be removed by the observation that the difficulty is not so much one of definition as one of valuation. That is, actually *Volk* is to almost everyone a generalization of the less sophisticated part of an ethnic or political group who work for their living and are distinguished by the qualities of mind and character associated with a more or less simple, wholesome, laborious, responsible, sober, and unrestrained mode of life. But as to the valuation of this collective type, two sharply antagonistic points of view have alternately been dominant throughout history. It was especially the age of Pope and Dryden, of Louis XIV and Boileau, and following Boileau's example, that of Opitz and Gottsched in Germany, which regarded the folk and its creative, especially its literary, products, with contempt and derision, as lacking in refinement, learning, mastery of diction, and subtleness and elevation of thought. This aristocratic attitude toward folk literature is characteristic of the Rationalistic movement.

The Romantic movement of the eighteenth century, on the other hand, especially since its culmination in Rousseau's doctrine of the natural man as the embodiment of perfect spontaneity as proceeding directly from the hand of the Creator, tended to idealize the people as the highest embodiment of man, as the union of the true children of God.

In the clash of these two valuations appeared most of the characteristics of the two movements, the Rationalistic and the Romantic. Herder was offended by the one-sidedness of the one as much as of the other. He was bitterly opposed to the aristocratic sterility of Rationalism, but he was no less intolerant of the subjective narrowness of Romanticism. He finished by combining what was best in both, into his profound and rich synthesis, which formed the foundations of what for several generations was, and may again become, the motive of a new era of humanity.

Spontaneity was his touchstone. Only those types of character, the spontaneity of which is not corrupted or weakened by false refinements, conventions, or habits, or, on the other hand, by mob brutality, and only those types of mind, the spontaneity of which is not impoverished and crippled by false intellectualism or the egocentric emotionalism of Romanticism, or deadened by stupidity, ignorance, and mob hypnotism, are to him truly representative of

the people. This conclusion was not, like the assumption of Rationalism and Rousseau, arbitrary and a priori, but it was derived and substantiated by his inductive analysis of the body of literature which he accepted as the literature of the people.

Now we see the deeper relation between Herder's conceptions of personality and of *Volk*, of spontaneity and *Volksmässigkeit*. They are merely different terms for the same quality as it appears in *Volksliteratur*. They are the characteristic aspects of the highest degree of harmony between the personality of the individual author, his subject, and the collective personality of his native audience or ethnic environment.

Herder concludes that all poetry, no matter under what circumstances or by what agents it is produced, which embodies this inner identity, is the true folk poetry. Folk poetry, therefore, is to him the highest type and the final standard of all poetry.

The test of folk poetry, in Herder's conception, is not that of origin nor of form alone nor of content nor of intense subjectivity of feeling or objective truth of idea, but of fullest, most complete and spontaneous, and most cherished embodiment of a people's soul in accordance with its own permanent historical judgment. Folk literature is the standard utterance of a people. He says:

.... It remains eternally true that that part of literature which refers to the people must be *volksmässig*, or it is mere classical air bubble. It remains also eternally true that unless we have a *Volk*, we lack also a public, a nation, a language and a literature that are ours and live and work in us. Unless our whole life is founded on the *Volk* we write eternally for desk students and tiresome critics, out of whose mouths and stomachs we receive back what we have put into them; we make romances, odes, heroic epics, church and kitchen songs, which no one understands, no one desires, no one feels. Our classical literature is a bird of paradise, so gaily colored, so pretty, all flight, all elevation, but never with a foot on the German earth.<sup>1</sup>

He applies the same test to the folk drama. In *Shakespeare* he says: "The form [of a 'living drama'] is of secondary importance. A *Fastnachtspiel* or a marionette play may be true drama if it attains a dramatic end with the people."

All works of literature, no matter when, where, by whom, or under what circumstances they have been produced or taken their

<sup>1</sup> Über die Ähnlichkeit der mittleren englischen und deutschen Dichtkunst.

final forms, provided they are accepted by the *Volk*, are to him folk literature. He sharply distinguishes ethnic personality from that of the crowd. True folk creations and judgments have depth and permanence and are above mere vulgar and temporary popularity. "People," he says, "does not mean the rabble of the alley, which never sings and creates, but roars and mutilates."<sup>1</sup> In full consistency Herder includes in the class of *Volkspoesie*, the Song of Songs, Genesis, the Book of Job, the Old Testament, generally; Homer, Hesiod, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Sappho, and other classical Greek poets, including those of the *Greek Anthology*; Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare ("who built on the faith of the people and from it took their materials and creations"),<sup>2</sup> *Percy's Reliques*, songs from the Elizabethan dramatists generally; *Parzival*, *Melusine*, *Magellone*, *Artus*, *The Knights of the Round Table*, the *Legend of Roland* in their German versions as well as in their Romanic exemplars; the German *Heldenbuch*; MacPherson's *Ossian*, which he in common with his contemporaries regarded literally as ancient Celtic poetry; the *Eddas*, the Scaldic poetry, which was at his time considered primitive poetry; Minnesong; Bürger's poetry, Klopstock's at its best; church hymns, also, the "universal legends, fairy tales, and mythologies of the peoples"—in short, all dramatic and lyrical poetry and all the various metrical and non-metrical forms of narrative adopted by the usage of a people into the common treasure of its language.

His principal conclusions, which form a homogeneous whole, are summed up in a highly synthetic arrangement in three essays, entitled: *Auszug aus einem Briefwechsel über die Lieder alter Völker*, 1773; *Shakespeare*, 1773; and *Über die Ähnlichkeit der mittleren englischen und deutschen Dichtkunst*, 1777, in which latter he assembled the ideas written down since 1773 and originally intended as an introduction to his collection of *Volkslieder*, published in two parts in the following two years.<sup>4</sup> The subject of the first and third is

<sup>1</sup> "Volk heißtt nicht der Pöbel auf den Gassen. Der singt und dichtet niemals sondern schreit und verstimmelt."

<sup>2</sup> *Über die Ähnlichkeit der mittleren englischen und deutschen Dichtkunst*, . . . . "auf dem Glauben des Volkes bauten, daher schufen und daher nahmen."

<sup>3</sup> . . . . die allgemeinen Volkssagen, Märchen und Mythologieen."

<sup>4</sup> Unfortunately afflicted by a later editor with its present redundant and sentimental title, *Stimmen der Völker in Liedern*.

folk poetry, including both the lyrical and the narrative forms; that of the second, folk drama. For the particular substantiation and further development of these conclusions we have to examine a number of other works, part of which had preceded those cited, and were therefore presumed by him to be known to his readers. Further extensions of his theory of personality in folk poetry appear especially in—*Über den Geist der Ebräischen Poesie*, in the *Ideen*, in his essays on the epigram and the fable, and in many of his later collections of papers, especially the *Humanitätsbriefe* and the *Zerstreute Blätter*. The subject, being basic to his view of life, occurs in one aspect or another, but essentially unchanged, in all his serious work.

Herder's critical method, simple in principle but infinitely varied and flexible in application, is inherent in his theory of personality. He applies the test of individual integrity, not only to the matter of literary discourse, but to every part of form, from the general principles of structure and diction to every detail of technique. All form is secondary to the specific individuality which it invests and to which it holds an integral, organic relation analogous to that of the shape of a tree with respect to its nature. All fixed, external standards and rules of form are rejected. With this inevitable conclusion, the antagonism between his and the pseudo-classical or rationalistic theory of aesthetic becomes irreconcilable.

Some characteristic applications of the relativity, which he attributed to all parts of the genuine manifestations of personality, appear in the following conclusions: If an individual spirit, forming and appropriating a true expression, is rugged or savage, the form must be likewise; if simple and downright, so must be the utterance; if complex, like the "natures" of the personalities of the Shakespearean age, the form must be analogous; and so forth.

Herder thus is the first to carry the principle of individualization to its proper conclusions. He stands in direct opposition to the formal principles of Rationalism, which were the necessary consequences of the rationalistic philosophy; the crucial shortcoming of which is the falsely objective overgeneralization exposed in the first *Wäldechen*. This misplaced objectivity is the product of the absence, or at best of a merely accidental and rudimentary development, of the sense for specific individuality. This lack commits

Rationalism to a commonplace and false absolutism and precludes the organic criteria of spontaneity and integral form.

Herder's literary theory is a theory of organic relativity. It cannot be doubted that such a conception, provided it avoid the false simplicity and purely subjective conception of integrity pertaining to Romanticism, that is, provided it include, as in Herder's investigations it did, all the proper factors, both objective and subjective, is the ideal of a true interpretation of *Geistesgeschichte*, of the history of the characteristic manifestations of the human mind, which is the essence of humanism. For it is, as Herder never tires of asserting, in this creative method, that the production and the interpretation of folk literature in the highest sense, are identical.

This creative and critical identity of the personalities of author and audience is in Herder's view the specific character of classicity. This classicity Herder identified with "nature."

It follows that classic literature is identical with folk literature. Classic literature is, therefore, not produced by imitation of the masterpieces of other ages, nations, classes, and individuals. The doctrines of the pseudo-classicists, like Boileau and Batteux and their followers in France, and Gottsched in Germany, can lead only to sterile perversions of the classics of past times but not to the creations of classics for a living age. Thus it was Herder who formulated the fundamental issues of the modern conflict concerning literary form.

Before proceeding farther, it is well to sum up the characteristic results of Herder's view of folk literature so far presented. His identification of folk literature with the classic or standard, i.e., the representative and best part of the literature of a people, and also with "nature," involves an idealization, i.e., a selection determined by a judgment of value. It also implies that the collective personality embodied in folk literature is the highest form of personality. We are here confronted with a very profound and interesting problem. It is impossible to dispose of it by the simple expedient of assuming, as is generally done, that Herder's final basis of judgment is aesthetic. For that term itself is not as simple as it appears to the rationalistic mind. Herder's conclusion of the integral union of all matters of literary and artistic substance and form with indi-

vidual personality has removed aesthetics from its position of independence and isolation and made it an organic part of the entire problem of personality.

The idealization involved in Herder's results is therefore not of a purely formal character nor determined by a subjective choice, such as is supposed to be characteristic of a purely "aesthetic" judgment, but it is the verdict of the totality of one's judgment of the highest values of life itself. Herder's conclusions compel a fundamental synthesis of ultimate ethical with purely formal values, conditioned not by arbitrary subjective preference but by all the concrete facts of reality or the laws of nature. In other words, this idealization is itself the result of the same method and the same comprehensive reach of induction which are characteristic of Herder's other inquiries. They too are inherent in his primary principle of personality.

His argument throws an interesting light upon the final break between Herder and Goethe in the early nineties, which was caused by the incompatibility of the purely formal interpretation of aesthetics developed by Schiller, who was then in the ascendent with Goethe, with the deeper and richer view of Herder, shared by Goethe in previous years and now misinterpreted as one-sidedly and odiously moralistic.<sup>1</sup>

Herder's identification of the individual peoples on the one hand, and of all humanity on the other, with nature, produces an apparent vagueness in the meaning of the latter. This vagueness, for which he has been much criticized, exists, however, only if we, as his critics do, assume in accordance with technical rationalistic philosophy the primacy of the general term, that is, in this case, if we suppose that an assumption of a general "nature" is the standard for all humanity and therefore for each "natural" individual. The matter becomes clear, however, if we bear in mind the essential principle in Herder's order of thought, which is inherent in his inductive method, to wit, that the more general is secondary to the more concrete conception, and therefore not absolute but relative. Herder attributed authenticity only to the conclusions substantiated by concrete reality and within the limits covered by the latter. He followed the scientific

<sup>1</sup> This break will form the subject of the penultimate chapter of this series.

method of induction which was first laid down in Bacon's *Novum Organum* and is now the indisputed pride of modern science, from which it gains almost daily confirmation.<sup>1</sup>

By applying this principle of Herder's thought we reach the conclusion that Herder's conceptions of the particular "natures" of the different peoples are derived from and conditioned by the extent of his induction from all the available manifestations of their collective personalities. His general conception of the nature of man, his "natural" man, is no more than a generalization composed of those characters common to all the individual folk personalities known to him. It is no absolute or primary conception but limited by the evidence from which it is derived.

From his examination of folk poetry Herder concludes that the discourse of the people in its purity is distinguished by ingenuous sureness of expression, concreteness of vision, immediacy of contact with reality, authenticity of perception, incorrupt originality of thought, disinterestedness, avoidance of intellectual sophistications, such as symbolical or allegorical "verbal meanings," faultless and naïve discernment of essentials, directness of attention and concentration, unfailing mastery of the substantive term, unpremeditated firmness, and force of expression.

These qualities determine both substance and form of folk discourse, down to every part of structure and diction, and detail of technique. Form is subordinate to it. Independent principles of form are alien and false.

The personality embodied in this poetry, the ideal folk man, is distinguished then by a perfect organic co-ordination of all his powers. He thinks and acts immediately, without need of deliberation, conscious analysis, abstraction, mental division, and recombination, in short, of all the processes of ratiocination. He has perfect integrity of consciousness, acting totally and instinctively. Whatever he does, he does, in Hamann's phrase, "with his entire heart and his entire soul."

The antithesis of this ideal of personality is the "modern" man of a later age. The epigone has lost the integrity of his ancestors. He has eaten of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. The

<sup>1</sup> See for the first assertion of this principle, his first *Waldchen*, chap. xi; above, p. 113.

unity and harmony of primitive man has given way to division and dissension within him. He is confused, baffled, self-conscious, irresolute, uncertain amid his warring native powers. Shackled by the makeshifts of external rules, which have to take the place of the instinctive motions of his now disrupted integrity, sophisticated, entangled in artificialities, severed from his original source of both creation and unified judgment, sterile and finical, lost in the trivialities of formalism, ridiculous in his pedantry and scholastic conceit, driven forth from the Eden of complete being into the desert of Rationalism—there he stands amid the husks of his false learning and the patter of his shallow and irrelevant disquisitions.

It is obvious that this ideal of the true man with its rationalistic antithesis took its origin from Rousseau. But it receives a very different development. It is not, as with Rousseau, an absolute postulate, but a real induction from the whole of what Herder conceived as the literature of the people.<sup>1</sup>

The following quotations are from the most significant passages of his interpretations of folk poetry. It has seemed proper to make such substantial selection and rearrangement from the vast mass of Herder's writing, in order to exemplify his main applications of his fundamental theory of personality.

His method of presentation in these essays differs from the first *Wäldchen* and from some others, as, for instance, that on the origin of language, in its extremely synthetic arrangement, which without the clue offered by the theory of personality is likely to lead to misunderstanding and to give an impression of confusion. His mind, passionate and creative, gifted with an immense capacity for assimilating knowledge and with a very vivid and energetic power of specific discernment, together with an extraordinary vision embracing a multiplicity of interconnections between details superficially far apart—a vision that, as it were, continually hovered over the whole range of knowledge and legitimate inference; sensitive to every glint of analogy and quick in the pursuit of the specific suggestions borne by the latter; ceaselessly illumined by flashes of insight and surprised and delighted by new avenues of surmise and combination; sparkling with the ever varying play of secondary but interesting

<sup>1</sup> A critical discussion of this conception is deferred to the second part of this chapter.

detail, multitudinous as the ripples in a sunlit sea; prompted by an untiring and rich poetic imagination—a mind so abundant found a strictly analytic form of statement, in which each important idea could be expressed only once, too bald and rigid. He desired to assert the whole synthetic mass of his main ideas again and again in each group of its ever augmenting combinations and ever ramifying distinctions. He craved to hold in one inspired, simultaneous image, in one living and continuous focus of unity, the sum of his knowledge.

Herder's statements, at their best, are clear and beautiful, rich and pregnant, and convey a fuller and more varied conception of the endless interrelation of the ideas pertaining to the focus of his interpretation than an analytic statement could make. It must be said, however, that at other times they are vexatious, requiring some efforts of simplification. A number of misinterpretations of his work have arisen from a complexity of presentation, caused not by the exigencies of the synthetic order, but rather by inadequacy of means of expression and arrangement, an inadequacy which is the inevitable burden of every thinker who leaves the beaten track to find new paths. By far the greater number of misunderstandings are, however, the results of attempts, inherited from the rationalistic and especially the Kantian critics of Herder, to force his interpretations and generalizations into the very forms of thought which it was the primary motive and character of Herder's critical labor to challenge. The theory of personality is fundamentally incompatible with the objective absolutism of Rationalism, and any attempt to subject it to the standards of the latter involves a *petitio principii*, i.e., an assumption of the principle at issue. Rationalism, before applying its characteristic tests to Herder's principle, is obliged to justify anew its primary assumptions in so far as they are at variance with the crucial tests demanded by Herder's view.<sup>1</sup>

The blemishes adhering to Herder's mode of statement do not in themselves justify the common assumption, shared by both philosophical and literary critics of Herder, that his critical methods are confused. A synthetic, even a congested, form of statement is

<sup>1</sup> The logical issue raised by Herder's theory is the subject of the last chapter of this series.

not necessarily proof of lack or confusion of analysis in critical method. Even in his most complex statements, patient scrutiny will reveal the persistence of his leading ideas and a power of discrimination, which rarely commits, and almost never persists in, essential errors.

The following passages are indispensable for a comprehensive and adequate grasp both of the substance of Herder's views regarding folk poetry and of his characteristic methods of interpretation and exemplification.

He says in *Ossian*:

The spirit which actuates [the old songs] the rude simple, but great, magical, solemn manner, the depth of the impression made by each forceful word, the freedom of the projection [*der freie Wurf*], by which each impression is produced—all these characteristics of the ancients should not be considered in the light of curiosities or oddities but as Nature.<sup>1</sup>

And again:

You know from nature-descriptions how forcefully and firmly savages always express themselves. They always visualize concretely, clearly and vividly the things they wish to express; they are directly and precisely conscious of their purpose in speaking, not distracted by shadows of conceptions, half ideas or symbolical word meanings, nor corrupted by artificialities, slavish expectations, timid and sneaking politics and confusing meditations; blissfully ignorant of all these weaknesses of the mind, they grasp the *complete* thought and the *complete* word, simultaneously. They either are silent or speak in the moment of interest with unpremeditated firmness, sureness and beauty, which all educated Europeans have at all times been counseled to admire.<sup>2</sup>

All this has been lost by our modern "pedants."

Who would find among ourselves the remnants of this firmness, must not look for it among the pedants. Unspoiled children, women, people of good natural understanding, formed more through activity than speculation, these are, if I have properly described eloquence, the only and the best orators of our time. . . . In ancient times, it was the poets, skalds, scholars, who knew best how to join to this firmness and sureness, also dignity, euphony and beauty of expression, but since they thus closely united soul and tongue, instead of confusing, they supported and aided each other, and so produced those works of singers, bards, and minstrels, which are to us almost miracles.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ossian*, chap. viii.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

Modern man has been miseducated till his knowledge has become "falsity, weakness and artificiality"; till we make poems on subjects on which we do not know how to think, still less, how to meditate, and least of all, how to exercise our imagination; till we pretend to passions that we do not have and ape faculties [*Seelenkräfte*] that we do not possess.<sup>1</sup>

. . . Homer, the greatest singer of the Greeks, was also their greatest folk poet. The whole of his glorious work is not épopée, but epos, fairy tale, legend, living folk tale. He did not sit down, on velvet, to write a heroic poem in twice twenty-four cantos, according to the rules of Aristotle, but sang what he had heard, portrayed what he had seen and vividly grasped.

The same is true of the compositions of Hesiod, Orpheus, of the choruses of Sophocles and Aeschylus, as much as of the "little ditties, table songs, and light airs" of the *Greek Anthology*. After some laudatory passages on folk poetry, he says in bitter irony:

But who would be such a barbarian that he should concern himself with the rude people, with the dregs of civilization, represented by fairy tales, prejudices, songs, rugged language? Why—he would be like an owl among the pretty, particolored, singing fowl, to defile our classical, syllable-counting literature.

Take one of the songs which occur in Shakespeare or in English collections of this [i.e., MacPherson's] sort and strip it of its lyrical forms, of euphony, rime, word order, the obscure progress of the melody [*des dunklen Ganges der Melodie*], so that you leave nothing except the meaning, translated in such or such a manner into one or another language—is it not as if you had tumbled the notes of a melody by Pergolese or the type of a print, in disarray over a page? . . . How else does the poet receive the imprint of the inner emotion except through the impression of the external, the sense forms, in sound, tone, melody, shape, of all the obscure, unnamable things which flow in song as in a stream into our souls . . . ? the more wild, i.e., the more vivacious, the more spontaneous [*je lebendiger, je frei-wirkender*] a people is, the more wild, i.e., the more vivid, free, concrete [*sinnlichner*], lyrical, active, must be . . . its songs. The more remote a people is from artificial, scientific ways of thinking, language and literary manner, the less are its songs dead literary verses, made only for paper. The nature, the purpose, the whole wonder-working power by which folk songs become the delight, the inspiration, the impulse, the undying hereditary treasure of a people, depend on their lyrical character, the vivacious and, as it were, dancelike movement of the songs, on the living presence of the images,

<sup>1</sup> Über die Ähnlichkeit der mittleren englischen und deutschen Dichtkunst.

<sup>2</sup> Ossian, chap. iv.

on the unity and as it were pressing abundance [*vom Zusammenhange und gleichsam Nodrange*] of the contents, the emotions, the symmetry of the words, the syllables, in many even of the letters, on the course of the melody and a hundred other things which come and go with the living word, with gnomic verse, and with national song. These are the arrows of this wild Apollo, with which he pierces hearts, and on which he fixes souls and memories. The longer a song is to endure, the stronger, the more concrete [*sinnlicher*] must be those soul awakeners, in order that they may defy the forces and the changes of time.

He asks in another passage,

Is it really true that such vivid breaks, abrupt transitions, and turns,<sup>1</sup> are to the soul of the people, which is chiefly concrete comprehension and imagination,<sup>2</sup> so outlandish and inconceivable as our learned men and connoisseurs are trying to make us believe?

On the contrary, they are characteristic of the people: "the more in the character of the people, the more vivid, the bolder, the more abrupt."<sup>3</sup>

We may add, in the spirit of Herder's comparison of folk poetry with that of the "learned," the "pedants," "the pretty, particolored singing fowl of our classical syllable-counting literature,"<sup>4</sup> that all vital and living literature is impatient of the minor connecting thoughts in a train of large ideas, and of the minor refinements of form in a great structure of art.

There are in Germany also, Herder continues, many virile poems in which speaks the spirit of the people. The young German poets should write in this spirit. He quotes, among many examples, "Haideröslein," adding a fine discussion of formal qualities, elisions, inversions, and other forms of the compactness, vividness, and reality characteristic of folk poetry.<sup>5</sup>

"The folksinger," he says farther on, "does not discourse, he paints with words and motions every circumstance and condition, for all are parts of the picture in his soul." "That cannot be taught; it is nature." "A vivid folk cannot express in song a general idea, an abstract truth, except in that bold, vivid, and concrete manner."

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, chap. ix " . . . lebhafte Sprünge, Würfe, Wendungen."

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, " . . . sinnlicher Verstand und Einbildung."

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, "je volksmässiger, je lebendiger; desto kühner, desto wirkender."

<sup>4</sup> P. 28 above.

<sup>5</sup> See Introduction to my edition of *Goethe's Poems* (Boston, Ginn & Co.), and notes to "Haideröslein," pp. xxviii, 187 ff.

Even the religious hymns that truly express the soul of a folk and so are folksong, share in this character. The Germans have many such, "but not any more so and more mighty than those composed by Luther."

Of all the forms of folk poetry Herder has attempted a definition only of song. He says:

I do not believe that it is a composition as a picture is a composition of pleasant colors; nor that the polish and external finish is its only and main distinction. The latter is characteristic of only one species of songs, which I would rather call cabinet or boudoir pieces, namely, sonnets, madrigals and the like; but it cannot be applied to song generally without qualifications and exceptions. The essence of song is singing, not picturing; its perfection lies in the melodic progress of passion or emotion, which one might name by the excellent ancient expression, air [*Weise*] . . . . A song must be heard, not seen; heard with the ear of the soul, which does not count and measure and weigh separate syllables but desires the progress of the tune and floats on with it.

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[*To be concluded*]

## IMPERFECT LINES IN *PEARL* AND THE RIMED PARTS OF *SIR GAWAIN AND THE GREEN KNIGHT*

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There are some thirty lines of *Pearl* which are internally imperfect in the MS, as compared with the usually regular character of the poet's verse. Most of these, too, may be made to correspond with the poet's normal lines by very simple means, while some, if not all, may be attributed to a careless scribe.

For example, in line 72 *adubmente* may be assumed to be *adub-bem-ent* because of the form which appears in four similar lines of the refrain (84, 96, 108, 120). Similarly *John* must be supplied in 997 and *gret* in 1104 from the refrain in the stanzas of their respective groups. In 363 and 977 an *I*, absolutely necessary to the sense, has been dropped after a final vowel which a careless scribe might have supposed sufficient for the meter. Line 1117 has been assumed to be imperfect, but may be read with the stress on the first syllable of *delyt*, since the word sometimes so alliterates in other poems. Compare *Wars of Alex.*, 265, 3743; *Piers Plow.*, A, II, 68; *deliteable* (*delitable*, *dilitable*) in the former at 4303, and in the latter at A, I, 32, B, I, 34; also *delited* in *Piers Plow.*, A, B, I, 29. See also *Pearl*, 1153 in which *delyt* may alliterate with *drof* in an *aabb* line, of which Northup ("Metrical Structure of *Pearl*," *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XII, 326) admits twenty-five examples. Osgood emends 1201 by inserting *hym* between *sete* and *sazte*, but the expression *sete sazte* seems to me complete in itself and needs no pronoun of reference. Line 690 is metrically perfect enough, but the sense requires some emendation, as that of Gollancz or Bradley.

There remain twenty-three lines requiring emendation in order to be as regular metrically as most lines of the poet, less than 2 per cent of those in the poem. They are 17, 51, 68, 122, 225, 286, 381, 486, 564, 586, 635, 678, 683, 709, 825, 990, 995, 999, 1000, 1004, 1036, 1046, 1076. These differ from the lines so far discussed in that they may be made metrically perfect by the addition of a final unstressed *e* to some one monosyllable of each line. Of them Gollancz emended in the manner suggested all but five, that is, 68,

683, 709, 825, 990, 995, but without adequately discussing the reason for the change. Indeed, he says in his note to *hert* (17):

There are some 60 or 70 instances of the sounding of the final *e* throughout the poem; most of these I have noted, in many cases restoring the metre of the line. A consideration of these instances leads me to the conclusion that, as far as this point is concerned, the dialect of the poem is an artificial one. Northup, in his excellent and painstaking study of metrical structure mentioned above, briefly suggested adding *e* finally to a monosyllable in each of the lines above, except 825 and 990, while he would also so emend additional lines 497, 616, 771, 776, which will be discussed later.<sup>1</sup>

Osgood, in his edition of *Pearl* (*Introd.*, p. xliii), noted eighteen lines in which an unstressed syllable is lacking, that is, 17, 51, 72, 122, 134, 188, 225, 286, 381, 486, 564, 586, 678, 709, 825, 990, 999, 1036, but emended only 72, *adub[be]mente*. He justifies retaining the MS readings by this statement:

At first sight this restoration [that is of final *e* in some words] is justified by Chaucer's practice, who never omits the unstressed syllable in this metre (Ten Brink, *Chaucers Sprache und Verskunst*, 2te Aufl., sec. 299), and that of his contemporaries (Schipper, *Eng. Metrik*, I, 278–79). But the verse of the North is freer, and the irregularity here considered is perfectly natural in a poet whose usual medium is the alliterative long line; furthermore, the omission occurring regularly in fourteen cases at the opening of the fourth foot, and in the four other cases after the caesura, indicates that it was intentional. I have therefore retained the MS readings.

Leaving this somewhat extraordinary view of the poet's language for the present, lines 134, 188 seem to me to need no emendation, since not lacking in an unstressed syllable. They were not emended by Gollancz or noted by Northup as belonging with the others in requiring an additional final *e* in any word. No word of either line requires an additional final *e* for inflectional or other linguistic reasons.

<sup>1</sup> It would be less necessary to consider these lines if Northup's study had been more fully accepted, as by Osgood in his edition of *Pearl*. The latter, however, has disregarded Northup's recommendations entirely, and thus is at variance with Gollancz's emendations also. Osgood also rarely recognizes the final *e* as an inflectional or syntactical element in monosyllables, as in the dative of nouns, the dative, weak form, and plural of adjectives, the inflectional or other endings of verbs. For example, in his glossary he gives the form *ask* for the verb, when *aske* is the form in all cases but 564, and that must be so emended for the meter. The adjectives *blake*, *blayke* are plurals in the examples occurring in the poem, *blak* the singular of the first being found in *Clanresse*, 1017. Many other examples might be cited to prove the point.

The assumption by Gollancz of an "artificial dialect," because of the syllabic quality of certain final *e*'s, and that of Osgood regarding the influence of the alliterative long line are at variance with what we should naturally expect of any writer. We should first try to explain apparent peculiarities of any writer's language on a natural basis, and resort to other explanations only when the natural one fails. When a writer is clearly imitating a language not his own, as in late ballad imitations, or in the Spenser imitations of the eighteenth century, the imitation is usually clear enough in itself. I wish to show, therefore, that emendation of all the twenty-three lines mentioned in the third paragraph is merely a regularizing on the basis of what may reasonably be inferred from the language itself, at the time of the poet's writing. The final *e* which is needed to make each line regular may be fully accounted for on the basis of earlier forms of the words, which were still sometimes, if not always, preserved. In other words, the writer was using his native tongue in a natural, rather than exceptional, manner.

The language of the fourteenth century, as is well known, was in a state of transition regarding the pronunciation of the final unstressed *e*. The result was a double pronunciation, especially of many monosyllabic words, as shown by the language of Chaucer, who has been most carefully studied in this respect, and of other writers. Monosyllables with final unstressed *e* historically or analogically in early Middle English had sometimes lost that vowel as a separate syllable, so that the same word might be used in either of two forms at the pleasure of the speaker or writer. Perhaps it would be better to say that, while the shorter form of the word was the more common, the dissyllabic form was still sometimes used in certain idioms.

Far from being an unusual condition, the same thing was true of the language of the sixteenth century. Consider in this respect final *-ion* of nouns, which might be either dissyllabic or monosyllabic, final *-ed* of past tenses and past participles, which might be syllabic, less commonly final *-es* of genitive singulars, as in *moones*, *whales* of Shakespeare. Later modern English has its analogies in many double forms like *I'll*, *don't* beside *I will*, *do not*, many clipped words in slang or colloquial speech, and such occasional doublets as *incog*,

*pro tem*, for *incognito*, *pro tempore*. The main difference between English of today and that of the fourteenth century is that fewer of these double forms are of inflectional character, for the very good reason that we have fewer inflections. Yet the genitive singular of monosyllabic nouns ending in *s*, as *Jones's house*, *Sims's tailoring*, may still be monosyllabic or dissyllabic at pleasure, while the doublets *my—mine*, *your—yours* depend for their use on syntactical considerations.

As compared with Chaucer, in whose language we have come to recognize such double forms as common, the language of the *Pearl* poet had fewer such doublets because he belonged to a region in which the final unstressed *e* had been more commonly lost. But this does not mean that no such double forms should be recognized as used by him. Absence from the MS may be easily accounted for because the scribe of the MS belonged to a still later time than that of the poet, while he was notably careless in other particulars.

A final unstressed *e*, not appearing in the MS but needed for the meter of the line, may therefore be reasonably inferred to have belonged to the poet's language, if it represents (1) one historically or analogically belonging to the word in early Middle English; or (2) one belonging to it inflectionally or syntactically, as in the dative of a noun or adjective, the plural or weak form of an adjective, the inflectional ending of a verb. In such cases, either of two forms—one with or one without unstressed final *e*—is possible, if required by the meter. On this basis let us examine the needed emendations in the *Pearl* lines mentioned above, as well as those metrically deficient in the rimed lines of *Sir Gawain*.

In six of the lines enumerated as now imperfect the nouns *hert* (17, 51), *tong* (225), *blys* (286), *step* (683), *glas* (990), if emended to forms with final *e*, would make the lines entirely regular. Of these, *hert*, *tong*, *step* had a historical final *e* in early Middle English, and *herte* appears and is clearly dissyllabic in 128, 176, *tonge* in 100, while *stepe* is the form of that word in *Clannesse*, 905, the only other time in which it seems to be found in the poems of this author. *Blys* is an Old English feminine which in early Middle English had regularly assumed an unstressed final *e* by analogy, and *blysse* not only occurs sixteen times (not fourteen times as Osgood enumerates) to *blys* five

times in *Pearl*, but is clearly dissyllabic in 397 and 611. Besides, like *hert* (51) it is a dative in 286, the line under discussion, and on this account alone might have retained an earlier syllabic final *e*. Again, in all other instances of the word within the line it appears before a vowel, weak *h*, or an unstressed syllable, and would be monosyllabic on those accounts whether written *blys* or *blysse*.<sup>1</sup> At the end of lines 372, 384, 396 it may have been a dissyllable. *Glas* is an Old English neuter which, like other such neuters, sometimes assumed final unstressed *e* by analogy of oblique cases and plurals. It appears as *glassee* twice in the poem, once (1025) before an unstressed syllable and therefore monosyllabic, once (1106) at the end of the line and then possibly a dissyllable; see also examples of the dissyllabic form in Mätzner. On all accounts it seems to me better to read *glassee* in 990 rather than to supply a new word before *burnist* as does Gollancz. To sum up, there is ample reason to emend the nouns *hert*, *tong*, *blys*, *step* to *herte*, *tonge*, *blysse*, *stepe* in the lines suggested, and probably *glas* to *glassee*.

In thirteen lines monosyllabic adjectives without final unstressed *e* in the MS, if emended for one linguistic reason or another, would render those lines entirely regular. These are the adjectives *fyrst* (486, 635, 999, 1000), *hyȝ* (678), *ilk* (995), *long* (586), *rych* (68, 1036), *self* (1046, 1076), *bryd* (1004), *wlonk* (122). Of these all but *ryche* and possibly *hyȝ* are monosyllabic adjectives which may be emended on inflectional or syntactical grounds. Thus *wlonk*, monosyllabic in the singular in 903 and 1171 and regularly in the poems, is a plural in 122 and should be *wlonke* for that reason. Four of the remaining monosyllabic adjectives require the weak form with final syllabic *e* in eight instances. *Fyrst* and *bryd* are ordinal numerals and regularly weak, so that on that account should be *fyrste*, *bryde* (or *brydde*) in the lines in which they occur. These are the only examples of the former as an adjective, but *bryde* (*brydde*) is dissyllabic in 833, and probably in 299. In all these examples of *fyrst* and *bryd* they are in dative phrases, and this is an added reason for emending with final *e*. *Ilk* appears in the weak form *ilke* and dissyllabic in 704, and there is no reason why it should not be of the same form in 995.

<sup>1</sup> This implies that *bred/wl* is stressed on the second syllable in 126, but *blys* may there be explained as a monosyllable before the caesural pause.

*Self* is usually an intensive pronoun in the poems, but in three instances is an adjective and in two of them weak (1046, 1076), so that it should be emended to *selfe* (*selve*). Compare the weak *selve* in Chaucer, *Troil.*, IV, 1240; *H.F.*, 1157; *C.T.*, A, 2584, among other examples. In the remaining example of the word as an adjective (203), it occurs in a dative phrase in which case *self* or *selve* may be read, but it is there probably unstressed and doubtless for that reason a monosyllable in the MS.

One monosyllabic adjective, *long* in the dative phrase *for long zore* (586), should read *longe* in keeping with its form in many similar expressions; compare my *Mid. Eng. Read.*, sec. 139, *Clannesse*, 769, and Chaucer's *B. of D.*, 20, 380. For other monosyllabic adjectives with inflectional syllabic *e* in dative phrases, see *brode* (650), *same* (1099), *tenbe* (136), and in *Gawain*, *fyne* (1239), *brinne* (1868).

*Ryche* had final *e* historically and in the examples 68, 1036 is a plural, so that for both reasons it should become *ryche*. In all other instances in the poem the word occurs before a vowel, weak *h*, or an unstressed syllable, and thus might have been written either *rych* or *ryche*. In *Gawain*, 586, however, *ryche* is dissyllabic in a dative phrase. *Hyȝ* (678), originally monosyllabic as was OE *hēah*, also has the dissyllabic form *hyȝe* by analogy of oblique case and plural forms, as in 401 and Chaucer's *Troil.*, III, 1207.<sup>1</sup> The MS *hyȝ*, therefore, may stand for a plural of the monosyllable or for the disyllabic form, but in either case should be *hyȝe*. So its dissyllabic weak form in 395, 1051 may be accounted for in the same way. The weak *hyȝe* of 596, 1054 may be dissyllabic, but, on the other hand, these examples of *hyȝe Kyng*, *hyȝe God* may be retentions of the Old English compounds *hēah-cyning*, *hēah-god*, with final *e* not syllabic before the second element of the compound. Compare for similar possible compounds *hyȝe masse* (*Pat.*, 9), OE *hēah-mæsse*; *hyȝe tyde* (*Gaw.*, 932), OE *hēah-tīd*, and with the last *hyȝ seysoun* of *Pearl*, 39. In all these examples the first element alliterates, while the second element is less fully stressed, as usually in compounds.

<sup>1</sup> Skeat accounts for a dissyllabic *heighe* in the *Troilus* passage (see glossary under *heigh*) as a "def. form, therefore read the *heighe*." In this I think he is mistaken in failing to note that OE *hēah* became both ME *hy* (*heigh*, *hyȝ*) and *hye* (*heighe*, *hyȝe*) with final *e* by analogy. Besides, the *Troilus* *heighe god* is exactly equivalent to OE *hēah-god* as used in the OE Psalm 56:2 (Grein-Wūlker, Vol. III, Part II, p. 91) *ic cleopige to heah-gode* (*deum altissimum*), and need not be regarded as an example of *heighe* in a weak form.

In three and perhaps four lines an inflectional final *e*, if added to verbal forms, would make those lines metrically regular. Two of these verbal forms are *carp* (391) and *ask* (564), the first appearing as *carpe* and dissyllabic at 949, the second as *aske* and similarly a dissyllable at 316 and 580. In the only other case in which either word could have syllabic *e*, *carpe* of 753, a past tense form with omitted or absorbed final *d*, the *e* is a separate syllable. *Aske* (910) precedes a vowel and is necessarily monosyllabic. Besides, as Northup points out, three other infinitives within the lines of the poem have syllabic final *e*, *hyre* (507), *take* (552), *sete* (101), and I may add from *Gawain*, *holde* (1043). The past tense *wroȝt* (825) should be *wroȝte*, a final *e* being syllabic in the pasts *oȝte* (341), *herde* (873), *glente* (1000). In *Gawain* the past *made* is dissyllabic in 687, and perhaps *herde* in 690. In all other examples of the past tense *wroȝt*, it occurs before an unstressed syllable or syllables and would have been monosyllabic whether written *wroȝte* or *wroȝt*.

Line 709 has been regarded as unmetrical, though not altered by Gollancz or Osgood. Kölbing, on the other hand, thought it required emendation, and proposed *arede* for *rede*, while Holthausen (*Archiv für neueren Sprachen*, CXXIII, 242) suggested inserting *so* before *con*. It may be pointed out that *con* might be assumed to be a subjunctive *cōne* (*conne*) instead of the usual indicative, and thus be in accord with the subjunctive *loke* in the next line. The subjunctive *cōne* (*conne*) would then be dissyllabic and supply an extra unstressed syllable before *rede*, as the subjunctive *dele* is dissyllabic in *Pearl* 606. Compare also *stod* in *Gawain*, 1768, which is subjunctive and should be *stode* in rime with the plural adjective *gode* of line 1766.

The additional lines which Northup proposed to alter by adding an unstressed *e* to *your* (496), *gret* (616), *kyn* (771), *much* (776), can be read as they stand, and thus do not require emendation in the sense of the lines already discussed. If emended to *you're*, *grete*, *muche*, these adjectives would take the stress from the comparatively unimportant words *in* (497, 776) *so* (616), thus making the lines somewhat smoother in their metrical flow. Yet this alone does not seem to me a reason for the change. It is more to the point that *your* and *much*, if emended, would be explained as not

impossible datives in dative phrases. We have no further data in the poem on which to determine the emendations, since in all other cases of the words within the lines, nine for *your* and eight for *much*, they are either themselves unstressed, or appear before a vowel, weak *h*, or an unstressed syllable. They could not be dissyllabic in such situations.

*Gret*, on the other hand, has no final *e* historically or as a rule if ever for analogical reasons, although *grete* at the end of line 637 may be an instance. In the twenty-three examples of the word in the poem, not counting 1104 in which it must be restored, *gret* (*grete*) occurs before a vowel, weak *h*, or an unstressed syllable, so that we have in them no data for the assumption of *grete* in this case. At the end of a line *grete* is a plural in 90 and a dative in 560, but whether the final *e* is syllabic in these cases depends upon the question of the syllabic character of final *e* in other places. In *Clannesse* the singular is regularly *gret*. All things considered it seems doubtful whether *gret* in 616 should be emended.

*Kyn* (771) is an Old English neuter which sometimes becomes ME *kinne* by analogy of oblique case and plural forms, so that it may be emended here. In the two other examples in which it appears in the singular, 755 and 794, it occurs before a vowel or weak *h* and could therefore not be dissyllabic. In both these instances, however, *quat kyn*, the same expression as in 771, is stressed on the second element. If such stress belongs in the line Northup proposed to emend, as I think it does, the emendation to *kynne* is inevitable. To Northup's example of *kynne* in *Piers Plow.*, B, V, 639, may be added B, XI, 290, but that in Orm 1051 does not seem to me a case in point.

While considering the lines which may possibly be emended by addition of a final unstressed *e* to a monosyllable for inflectional reasons, we may note that 87 may belong here. In this line, if *flavorez* is to be stressed on the first syllable, as seems likely from the alliteration, then the plural adjective *frech* before it must become *freche* (*fresche*), as in *Gawain*, 122. The line may be read, however, with stress on the second syllable of *flavorez*, in which case *frech* would remain monosyllabic before an unstressed syllable. It is impossible, therefore, to express more than one's general choice of

two possibilities. My own would be, because of the probable alliteration of the line, to emend the adjective in accordance with principles laid down for the plurals of other monosyllabic adjectives in similar instances.

To turn to our second poem, in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* there are 404 rimed lines, not counting the 101 tail rimes which close the irregular, unrimed stanzas, and are separately numbered by Morris. A very few of these rimed lines are metrically deficient, as 84, 249, 736, and perhaps 1016, which seem to require an added word. Thus in 84, *soth* should probably be *sothly*, no adverbial *sothe* appearing in the poems, the scribe perhaps mistaking *soth* for the noun or adjective. Some such addition as *word* or *speche* would appear to be needed after *cast* in line 249, and some such word as *ryzt* before *wel* in 736. Perhaps a *þe* should be supplied before *trumpeȝ* in 1016. But I am now especially interested in lines which are metrically deficient by the probable omission of an inflectional or syntactical final *e*, as in the lines of *Pearl* already discussed.

Taking these in the order of nouns, adjectives, and verbs involved, the noun *Meȝel-mas* in 532 should be *Meȝel-masse*. The last part of the compound, OE *masse*, has final *e* historically, and usually in these poems; compare *masse* in *Cl.*, 51, and *Pat.*, 9; *Kryst-masse* in *Gawain*, 37, 734; *crysten-masse* in *Gawain*, 502, but *crysten-mas*, 985; and even *mas* in rime (*Pearl*, 1115), in which *masse* is possible. The parallel form *messe* in rime (*Pl.*, 497) is also in point as more likely the Old English variant *messe* than the OF *messe*; cf. *messe-quyle* in *Gawain*, 1097.

In line 35 the adjective *lel* is plural and should be *lele* on this account, as well as for the meter. Similarly, in line 1177 the adjective *derk* is weak and for this reason should have the form *derke*, thus completing the line metrically. In verbs there are no examples within the lines which require change for metrical reasons, but in three instances changes of verbs in final position should probably be made. Thus in 1146 the past plural *ȝod* should probably be *ȝode* to rime with the plural adjective *gode* in 1148. As already indicated above the subjunctive *stod* of 1768 should be *stode* for inflectional reasons, and the rime word of 1766 is the plural adjective *gode* as in 1148. In 1975 the infinitive *bonk* should probably be *bonke*, as the

rime word *wlonk*, a plural of the adjective, should probably be *wlonke*. For the latter compare the suggested emendation of *Pearl*, 122.

In conclusion let me return to the reasons Osgood suggested for retaining the MS readings in most of the *Pearl* lines he was discussing. His first suggestion, that the poet was perhaps influenced by the long alliterative line, rests, it seems to me, on a wrong assumption. It implies that the poet, when working in the medium of the long alliterative line, would use a language somewhat different from that naturally spoken by him and others in his age and district. Now I know of no reason to believe that the language of the long alliterative line ever differed essentially from the language of ordinary life. That it was not as regular syllabically as the line of four stresses used in *Pearl* rests upon its previous history and later development, but that does not indicate that the language used in the two forms was different in any important particular. Only if the poet were consciously imitating a form not naturally his own, could this be true, and of this no proof has been offered or I think can be presented.

Again, Osgood argued that, in the lines he cited, the omission of *e* in the unstressed syllable "was intentional," because in fourteen of the instances it occurred "at the opening of the fourth foot, and in the four other cases after the caesura." Yet in contravention of his own point he amended *adubmente* (72) to *adubbement*, because the longer word is shown to be correct by its use in similar position at the end of the four succeeding stanzas. Omission of the *e* in this case, far from being intentional, must have been merely a scribal error.

The argument from the frequency of omission before the fourth stress rests on no more certain basis. Osgood failed to note how frequently the final *e* which might have syllabic value is preserved before the various stresses. An examination of the first 200 lines of the poem shows some thirteen instances in which a final *e* is still preserved before the fourth stress, as compared with four instances before the second, and at most only one (*rourde* 112) before the third. If the proportion holds good for the remaining lines of the poem, as we may reasonably believe it will, then there are at least seventy-eight instances of final *e* before the fourth stress, compared with some

twenty-four before the second stress. In any case the reason for more omissions of syllabic final *e* before the fourth stress than before the second or third is simply that there was more opportunity for a careless scribe to make such omission. Moreover, the proportion of omissions in the two places is essentially the same, as we should expect it to be if it were a matter of careless copying. The argument from intention on the part of the poet falls to the ground completely. Again we may reason with confidence that the emendations, justified as they have been from the point of view of inflection and syntax, are not barred by any intention on the part of the poet, whether in imitation of another literary form or not.

The purpose of this paper is to emphasize the relation of linguistic facts to the metrical irregularities of Middle English poetry, through application to two poems belonging to the same time and district, and generally believed to be by the same author. Such examination would seem to be unnecessary but for the frequent disregard of such essential facts of language in the Middle English period. Many glossaries of Middle English works are prepared with slight regard for them, notwithstanding such care in this particular as Skeat exercised in the glossaries to *Piers Plowman* and *Chaucer*. Questions of metrical regularity or irregularity are often discussed with little consideration of their importance, as in' the otherwise valuable editions of *Pearl* by Gollancz and Osgood. It is hoped the paper may also call attention to the importance of further investigation of linguistic problems in this important period.

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## SPENSER'S USE OF THE LITERATURE OF TRAVEL IN THE FAERIE QUEENE

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### I

Although this article aims chiefly to describe that curious interweaving of the mythical and the real which produced the voyage of Sir Guyon to the Bowre of Blisse in the twelfth canto of the second book of the *Faerie Queene*, it may be of interest to note by way of preface that there are scattering and fragmentary references throughout the *Faerie Queene* to the voyages of the sixteenth-century seamen, to the countries new found by them, and to curious and interesting facts about the inhabitants. There is clearly an attempt to utilize bits of the current travel lore for artistic purposes.

Among the passages which merely mention such new names as Peru and America, the best known is probably Spenser's famous "defence" of the *Faerie Queene* in the Prologue to the second book. Some people, Spenser fears, may account "all this famous antique history" as only the "abundance of an idle braine," but, he goes on to say, other things would have been thought impossible a generation or two ago which are now proved true:

Who euer heard of th' Indian *Peru*?  
Or who in venturous vessell measured  
The *Amazons* huge riuier now found trew?  
Or fruitfullest *Virginia* who did euer vew?  
Yet all these were, when no man did them know.<sup>1</sup>

Spenser might well defend on this ground the wonders that he tells, for many of them are drawn from the relations of the voyagers themselves. Incidentally these lines fix the date of this Prologue as not earlier than 1584, for that was the date of the first voyage to Virginia by Amadas and Barlowe.

<sup>1</sup> *Faerie Queene*, II, Prol. 2, 3. Other references are: II, x, 72, a reference to America; II, xi, 21, stanza on the bows and arrows of the Indians; III, ii, 6, "the Africk Ismael and the Indian Peru"; V, x, 8, "the Americke shore, the utmost margent of the Molucas."

More interesting is Spenser's second reference to the river of the Amazons (IV, xi, 21, 22):

And that huge Riuer, which doth beare his name  
Of warlike Amazons, which doe possesse the same.

Ioy on those warlike women, which so long  
Can from all men so rich a kingdome hold;  
And shame on you, O men, which boast your strong  
And valiant hearts, in thoughts lesse hard and bold,  
Yet quale in conquest of that land of gold.

Spenser, then, was familiar with the tales, and there were many of them, of the Amazons in America. The very first voyagers brought back stories of islands "in whyche dwell only women, after the manner of them, called Amazones."<sup>1</sup> With the descent of the Amazon River by Orellano in 1540–41, the Amazons were henceforth associated with that region. Thevet, in his *Singularitez de la France Antarctique*, translated from the French and published by Bynneman in 1568, devotes a chapter to telling "How certaine Spanyardes arrived into a country, where they found Amazons," but Spenser must have heard, rather, some such stories as those referred to by Herrera in his *General History of the Western Indies*, 1601–15, Decade VI, Book ix:

Captain Orellano, by means of a vocabulary which he had made, asked many questions of a captured Indian, from whom he learned that that land was subject to women, who lived in the same way as the Amazons, and were very rich, possessing much gold and silver. They had five houses of the sun plated with gold, their own houses were of stone, and their cities defended by walls; and he related other details, which I can neither believe nor affirm, owing to the difficulty of discovering the truth.<sup>2</sup>

Spenser, however, seems to have made little or no use of these stories for his Amazon episode in the fifth book.

Spenser describes the feather dresses of the Indians in the stanza on Fancy (III, xii, 8):

His garment neither was of silke nor say,  
But painted plumes, in goodly order dight,  
Like as the sunburnt Indians do array  
Their tawney bodies, in their proudest plught.

<sup>1</sup> Richard Eden, *A treatise of the newe India . . . after the description of Sebastian Münster*, London, 1553, in Edward Arber, *The First Three English Books on America* (Edinburgh, 1886), p. 30. Other references to the Amazons are to be found in the same work, p. 24, and in the *Decades of the newe worlde of West India*, pp. 69, 70, 177, 189.

<sup>2</sup> *Expeditions into the Valley of the Amasons*, trans. and ed. by C. R. Markham (Hakluyt Society edition), p. 36.

There are a number of descriptions of the feather dresses in the travel books. Perhaps the following one from Eden's *Decades* suggests the "proudest plight" as well as any: "Whereupon they which were sente to lande . . . makyng a great shoute for ioye of their victory, sette them selues in order of battayle, and so keping their array, returned to the shippes laden with spoyle of those prouinces, and shynynge in souldiers clokes of fethers, with faire plumes and crestes of variable colour."<sup>1</sup> It is barely possible of course that there had remained associated in Spenser's mind three facts from the *Discouerie of Morum Bega*, which was included in Hakluyt's *Divers Voyages*, 1582. There is in this account a description of a number of tribes. Of one we are told that they were "clad with the fethers of foules of diuers colours"; of the next that "they did not desire cloth of silke or of golde, much lesse of any other sorte"; and of the next that "the people differ much from the other. . . . They cloth themselves with Beares skinnes, and Leopardes, and sealles, and other beastes skinnes."<sup>2</sup> Note now in connection with Spenser's description of the feather dress the first line of the stanza quoted above, "His garment neither was of silk nor say," and the description of Daunger, three stanzas below:

With him went Daunger, cloth'd in ragged week,  
Made of Beares skin, that him more dreadfull made.

The coincidence is interesting, but not entirely conclusive.

Spenser has a number of descriptions of savages. There is the savage man with a gentle disposition in VI, iv, and there is the nation of cannibals in VI, viii, both of which have so many counterparts in the travel books that it is needless to point out specific parallels. More interesting, however, is the "wilde and saluage man" (IV, vii, 5-7), the various aspects of whom represent an ensemble from diverse sources. He may be in part a reminiscence of the folk character of the wild man, or "wode man," who figured in Elizabethan pageants.<sup>3</sup> This wild man was usually hairy (cf. IV, vii, 5), carried a

<sup>1</sup> Arber, *op. cit.*, p. 160. Other descriptions are to be found in Thevet, *op. cit.*, p. 39, and Girolamo Benzoni, *History of the New World, shewing his Travels in America, from A.D. 1541 to 1568* (Hakluyt Society edition), p. 178.

<sup>2</sup> *Divers Voyages*, ed. by J. W. Jones (London, 1850), pp. 63, 65, 70.

<sup>3</sup> Robert Witherington, *English Pageantry* (Cambridge, 1918), p. 72 ff. Frederick S. Boas, *University Drama in the Tudor Age* (Oxford, 1914), p. 161, gives a quotation from a diary for January 8, 1582, which mentions such a "savage."

wooden club (cf. IV, vii, 7), and was "with a wreath of yuie greene Engirt about" (cf. IV, vii, 7). He was not, however, large-lipped and long-eared as is Spenser's wild man.<sup>1</sup> Hairy men are of course frequently met with also in the travel books, but large lips and long ears are of rarer occurrence. Spenser writes:

His neather lip was not like man nor beast,  
But like a wide deepe poke, downe hanging low,  
In which he wont the relickes of his feast,  
And cruell spoyle, which he had spard, to stow.

Marco Polo, describing the inhabitants of Zanzibar, writes, "They have large mouths, their noses turn up toward their forehead, their ears are long, and their eyes so large and frightful, that they have the aspect of demons."<sup>2</sup> This description taken in connection with the rest of Spenser's picture, is fairly close, but there is a closer parallel in Mandeville: "And in another isle be folk of foul fashion and shape that have the lip above the mouth so great, that when they sleep in the sun they cover all the face with that lip."<sup>3</sup> This, to be sure, is the upper lip, but the transfer was a simple matter. Spenser, it is true, may be following a Celtic tradition here. In the story of *Kilhwch and Olwen*, Gwevyl, the son of Gwestad had lips so large that he could drop one below his waist and cover his head with the other.<sup>4</sup>

As for the ears, Spenser's lines are:

And downe both sides two wide long eares did glow,  
And raught downe to his waste, when up he stood,  
More great then th' eares of Elephants by *Indus* flood.

In Mandeville, a few lines below the description quoted above, is found: "And in another isle be folk that have great ears and long, that hang down to their knees." Eden has two references to long ears. In his translation of Sebastian Münster the Spaniards are told that there are men not onely with hanging eares, but also with eares of such breadth and length, that with one of them they myghte couer theyr hole head. But the Spaniardes, who soughte for gold and spyces, and not for monsters, sayled directly to the Ilandes of Mollucca.

<sup>1</sup> Withington, *op. cit.*, p. 54, mentions the fact that the pageant figure of the giant sometimes had "large ears" and "big mouths," but he cites no examples.

<sup>2</sup> *The Travels of Marco Polo, the Venetian*, ed. by Thomas Wright (London, 1854), p. 432. Cf. Eden, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

<sup>3</sup> *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, ed. by A. W. Pollard (London, 1900), p. 196.

<sup>4</sup> *The Mabinogion*, ed. by Alfred Nutt (London, 1904), pp. 112-13.

And in his *Decades*:

The pilote which owre men brought owt of the Ilandes of Molucca toulde them that not farre from thense, was an Iland named Arucetto in the which are men and women not past a cubite in height, hauyng eares of such byggenesse that they lye upon one and couer them with the other.<sup>1</sup>

Spenser seems to have made use of either Marco Polo or Mandeville also for an item in his description of Maleger. Maleger, we are told (II, xi, 26), fled on a tiger:

And in his flight the villein turn'd his face,  
(As wonts the *Tartar* by the *Caspian* lake,  
When as the *Russian* him in fight does chace)  
Unto his tygres taile, and shot at him apace.

Mandeville writes:

And ye shall understand that it is great dread for to pursue the Tartars if they flee in battle. For in fleeing they shoot behind them and slay both men and horses.<sup>2</sup>

And Marco Polo:

When these Tartars come to engage in battle, they never mix with the enemy, but keep hovering about him discharging their arrows first from one side and then from the other occasionally pretending to fly, and during there flight shooting arrows backwards at their pursuers, killing men and horses, as if they were combating face to face.<sup>3</sup>

This characteristic is less frequently mentioned in sixteenth-century treatises. It is scarcely possible that Spenser could have seen a reference to the custom in a manuscript copy of Giles Fletcher's *Of the Russe Common Wealth*, a book which was the fruit of a diplomatic mission to Russia in 1588, but which was not however published until 1591.

To mention a final example, the picture of Disdain (VI, vii, 43) goes back in part either directly or indirectly to travel books of a different class:

He wore no armour, ne for none did care,  
As no whit dreading any liuing wight;  
But in a Iacket quilted richly rare  
Upon checklaton he was straungely dight,  
And on his head a roll of linnen plight,  
Like to the Mores of Malaber he wore;  
With which his locks, as blacke as pitchy night,  
Were bound about, and voyded from before.

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 34-35, 260.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 165.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 136.

The keynote phrase in this passage is the "Mores of Malaber." There are many descriptions of Malabar in the travel books, but in few of them are the inhabitants referred to as Moors. Even Marco Polo is too discriminating to give them that name. The phrase is probably to be traced back to some Portuguese travel book, for the Portuguese writers had the habit of referring to all Mohammedans indiscriminately as Moors. Especially is the *Book of Duarte Barbosa* full of the phrase, "the Moores of Malabar." This travel book was probably completed about 1518 and was translated into Italian by Ramusio and included in his collection of voyages. Spenser may possibly have gleaned his description of the dress of Disdain from Barbosa. Following is Barbosa's description of the costume of the kings of Malabar: "Sometimes they clothe themselves with short jackets open in front, reaching halfway down the thigh, made of very fine cotton cloth, fine scarlet silk, or of silk and brocade. They wear their hair tied upon the top of their heads, and sometimes long hoods like Galician casques."<sup>1</sup> Elsewhere he speaks of the use of cloth of gold (Spenser's "checklaton"): "They go very well attired in rich cloth of gold, silk, cotton and camlets. They all wear turbans on their heads, these turbans are long like Moorish shirts."<sup>2</sup>

Fragmentary as these passages are, they indicate clearly one of the more remote and curious ramifications of Spenser's interests. Whether Spenser actually read the *Book of Duarte Barbosa* or Thevet's *Singularitez*, or Eden's *Decades*, or got his material from them by some indirect means, is a relatively unimportant question. The interest in the strange and exotic forms of life and manner of living so picturesquely set forth by them remains.<sup>3</sup> In the following section

<sup>1</sup> *A description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar in the Beginning of the 16 c. by Duarte Barbosa*, trans. by the Hon. H. E. Stanley (Hakluyt Society edition), p. 104.

<sup>2</sup> *Hakluyt Society edition*, Ser. II, Vol. XLIV, p. 120.

<sup>3</sup> It is interesting to note in this connection that Gabriel Harvey, Spenser's close friend and guide in matters intellectual, had apparently a very considerable acquaintance with the travel books. In *Pierce's Supererogation* we read: "But read the report of the worthy Westerne discoueries, by the said Sir Humfry Gilbert; the report of the braue Weet-Indian voyage by the conduction of Sir Fraunceis Drake; the report of the horrible Septentrionall discoueryes by the traualle of Sir Martin Forbisher; the report of the politique discouery of Virginia by the Colony of Sir Walter Ralegh; the report of sundry other famous discoueryes and aduentures, published by M. Rychard Hackluit in one volume, a worke of importance," etc. See Gregory Smith, *Elizabetan Critical Essays* (Oxford, 1904), II, 261-62. The possible influence of Sir Walter Ralegh on Spenser need only be mentioned.

we shall see how he blends material from the travel books with various legends and fictions and creates from the combination a faery voyage peopled with "shapes that haunt thought's wildernesses."

## II

It is perhaps generally recognized that the voyage of Sir Guyon under the guidance of the Palmer and with the help of the "heedfull Boateman" to the Bowre of Blisse in the twelfth canto of Book II of the *Faerie Queene* resembles in certain respects the medieval *Legend of St. Brandan*, but the points of similarity between the two have not, I believe, been pointed out in detail, nor have there been discussed certain other possible sources, which I should like to offer, for various passages in this canto.

Let us consider first the *Legend of St. Brandan* and its possible relation to the voyage of Sir Guyon. The legend was easily accessible to Spenser. It seems to have been very popular in the Middle Ages, for it survives in many versions. There is a Latin version which has been edited by Jubinal from "les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du roi," together with a twelfth-century French prose translation and a French metrical version from the thirteenth-century *Image du Monde* of Gautier de Metz.<sup>1</sup> This Latin version is somewhat longer than the Latin version of Capgrave in the *Nova Legenda Angliae*. Capgrave's version was published in English by Wynkyn de Worde in 1516. There is also an English prose version of the legend in the *Golden Legend*. The text from which I quote is from Wynkyn de Worde's 1527 edition of the *Golden Legend*. Besides the English prose version in the *Golden Legend*, there is a Middle English metrical version in the *Southern Legend Collection* of the late thirteenth century or early fourteenth century.<sup>2</sup> There are various other Latin, French, and Anglo-French versions,<sup>3</sup> but I

<sup>1</sup> A. Jubinal, *La légende latine de S. Brandaines, avec une traduction inédite en prose et en Poésie Romane* (Paris, 1836). There is another Latin MS, edited by Schröder, 1871, which I have not been able to see. For references to critical papers on the subject see Best, *Bibliography of Irish Philology and of Printed Irish Literature* (Dublin, 1913), p. 115; and Wells, *Manual of the Writings in Middle English*, p. 806.

<sup>2</sup> Both the English version of the *Golden Legend* and of the *Southern Legendary* have been edited by Thomas Wright in the "Publications of the Percy Society," Vol. XIV. The metrical version is from MS Harl. 2277, fol. 41, v<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Schirmer, *Zur Brandanus-Legende* (Leipzig, 1888).

shall only mention further the Celtic "Life of Brenainn" in the *Book of Lismore*.<sup>1</sup> Of these various versions the one most readily accessible to Spenser was the English prose version in the *Golden Legend*, and that seems also to be as near to the passage in the *Faerie Queene* as any, although the English prose and metrical versions are so like that it is difficult to decide between them.<sup>2</sup> I find nothing in the longer Latin version, edited by Jubinal, parallel to the voyage of Sir Guyon which is not also in the English of the *Golden Legend*. The Celtic version deals more largely with the early life of St. Brandan, or Brenainn, and less with the *Navigatio*, and is perhaps the least like the passage in the *Faerie Queene*.

What, then, are the parallels between *St. Brandan* and Book II, canto xii, of the *Faerie Queene*? In the former we have the story of a voyage in quest of the Land of Promise, a long voyage beset with many dangers from tempest, fowl, and sea monster, a voyage past many marvelous islands, "the which were a very great wonder," as the sixteenth-century seamen were fond of saying. In the latter, likewise, we pass with Sir Guyon and the Palmer a series of marvelous islands and escape a succession of similar dangers. In the former voyage, St. Brandan is the controlling Christian spirit who holds his men in check, warns them of the floating island, and prays for help when they are attacked by whale and "grype." So in the latter, the Palmer guides the boat safely past the Rock of Vile Reproch, past the singing mermaids, past the "seemely Maiden, sitting by the shore," and scatters the multitude of fish with his "virtuous staffe." Both voyages end in a kind of happy otherworld, the former in the Londe of Byheest that "Adam and Eve dwelte in fyrist," and the latter in the Bowre of Blisse, which partakes largely of the nature of the Londe of Byheest but is modified in accordance with Spenser's moral aim into a bewitchingly lovely bower of temptation.

Examining the correspondence between certain of the episodes more closely, it is perhaps sufficient merely to mention in passing the episode of the floating islands, for the parallel in this case is not

<sup>1</sup> Whitley Stokes, *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore* (Oxford, 1890), text, pp. 99-116; translation, pp. 247-61.

<sup>2</sup> It is entirely possible that Spenser knew both the English prose and the Middle English metrical versions, for, while the canto seems on the whole nearer to the prose version, there is at least one passage, which I shall note later, that more nearly resembles the metrical version.

close. In the legend the monks, all but the wary St. Brandan, go upon an island to prepare their dinner. When the fire becomes very hot the island begins to move. The monks, fleeing back to the ship, "mervayled sore of the moving. And saynt Brandon comforted them, and sayd that it was a grete fissh named Jasconye, which laboureth nyght and daye to put his tayle in his mouth, but for gretnes he may not."<sup>1</sup> The floating islands which Sir Guyon and the Palmer pass are real islands which lure the voyagers by the pleasantness of their woods and dales. Spenser may possibly have taken his original conception from the legend, but if so he modified the type of island considerably. We shall have more to say later on the subject of floating islands.

The next analogous episode is that of the fish. There are two fish episodes in the legend, (1) the attack by the whale, and (2) the threatened danger from the multitude of fish and their dispersal by St. Brandan. There is a single episode in the *Faerie Queene*, but that one episode partakes of the nature of the two in the legend, first in the description of the waterspout caused by the fish, and second in the surging of the multitude of fish about the vessel and their dispersal in this case by the Palmer:

And soone after came to them an horrable fyssh, which followed the shyppe long tyme, castynge so moche water out of his mouth into the shyppe that they supposid to have ben drowned.

[*Op. cit.*, pp. 46-47.]

Suddeine they see from midst of all  
the Maine,  
The surging waters like a mountain  
rise,  
And the great sea puft up with proud  
disdaine,  
To swell aboue the measure of his  
guise,  
As threatening to deuoure all, that his  
powre despise.

[Stanza 21.]

And then anone all the fysshes  
awoke and came aboue the shippe  
so thicke, that unneth they myght  
se the water for the fysshes.

All these, and thousand thousands  
many more,  
And more deformed Monsters thou-  
sand fold,  
With dreadfull noise, and hollow  
rombling rore,  
Came rushing in the fomy waues  
enrold.

[Stanza 25.]

<sup>1</sup> *St. Brandan*, ed. by T. Wright, "Publications of the Percy Society," XIV, 39.

And whan the masse was done, all  
the fysshes departed so that they  
were seen no more.

[*Op. cit.*, pp. 47-48.]

The lifting up his vertuous staffe on  
hye,  
He smote the sea, which calmed was  
with speed,  
And all that dreadfull Armie fast gan  
flye.

[Stanza 26.]<sup>1</sup>

Again, both parties of voyagers pass through a dark cloud before they come to their destination:

And after this they tooke theyr shyppe and sayled eest xl. dayes,  
and at the xl. dayes ende it began  
to hayle ryght fast, and therewith  
came a derke myst, which lasted  
longe after, whiche fered saynt  
Brandon and his monkes, and  
prayed to our Lord to kepe and  
helpe them.

When suddeinly a grosse fog ouer  
spred  
With his dull vapour all that desert  
has,  
And heauens chearefull face enuel-  
oped,  
That all things one, and one as  
nothing was,  
And this great Uniuerse seemd one  
confused mas.  
Therat they greatly were dismayd,  
ne wist  
How to direct their way in darke-  
nesse wide  
But feard to wander in that wastful  
mist.

Till that at last the weather gan to  
clear,  
And the faire land it selfe did plainly  
show.

Said then the Palmer, Lo where does  
appeare  
The sacred soile, wherè all our perils  
grow.

[Stanzas 34, 35, 37.]

<sup>1</sup> Compare with this the metrical version which seems slightly closer:

1. Berninge fom out of his mouth he caste,  
The water was hezere than here schip bifore hem at ech blaste.
2. The fisch sturte up with here song, as hi awoke of siepe  
And flote si aboute the schip, as hit were at one hepe:  
So thikke hi flote about bi ech half, that now other water me ne se;  
And bisette this schip si aboute, ac hi ne come ther se;  
So thikke hi were aboute the schip, and suede hi evere so,  
The while this holi man his masse song, forte he hadde i-do;  
And tho the masse was i-do, ech wende in his ende.

[*Op. cit.*, pp. 19, 21.]

There are, however, other parallels to this passage, to be noted later, which Spenser may have known.

<sup>2</sup> I have transferred the order of the last two quotations. There is another description of this cloud at the beginning of the legend, p. 36.

In the passage in the *Faerie Queene* the voyagers are attacked while the darkness is upon them by an "innumerable flight of harmeful fowles. . . . Even all the nation of unfortunate And fatall birds." This does not occur in any of the versions of St. *Brandan* that I have seen, but at another point in the voyage St. Brandan and his monks are attacked by a "grete grype, which assayled them and was lyke to have destroyed them."<sup>1</sup> It is possible that Spenser put the two episodes together.

Finally, certain features of the Londe of Byheest are similar to those of the Bowre of Blisse. Both luxuriate in flowers and fruits and pleasant meadows, and "there was alwaye daye and never nyght, and the londe attemperate ne to hote ne to colde."<sup>2</sup>

Such are the similarities between the medieval saint's legend and Book II, canto xii: correspondence in the general scheme of the voyage past marvelous islands; in the rôles played by St. Brandan and the Palmer; and in certain details of the development. But this by no means accounts for the whole of the canto. Even taking into consideration the obvious classical borrowings—the Charybdis, the song of the Sirens, the Circean animals—all of which have been sufficiently pointed out in the annotated editions, and the borrowing from Tasso's Garden of Armida which have also been pointed out,<sup>3</sup> there is much that is unaccounted for. What of the magnetic rocks? of the ship stranded on the sand? of the lure of the "seemely mayden"? of the ivory gates and the golden fruit, the bed of roses? Was Spenser using any other sources?

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 47. The appearance of supernatural beings in the form of birds is a common convention in Celtic legends. Cf. the list of references in T. P. Cross, "The Celtic Origin of the Lay of Yonec," *Revue celtique*, XXXI, 437–38, n. For the convention of the mist surrounding the Celtic otherworld, cf. A. C. L. Brown, "The Knight of the Lion," *PMLA*, XX (1905), 677–78, n.

<sup>2</sup> *St. Brandan*, p. 55. These features are characteristic of otherworld descriptions.

<sup>3</sup> There are references to the borrowing in Schramm, *Spensers Naturschilderungen* (Leipzig, 1908), p. 22 ff.; in Koeppel, "Die englischen Tassoübersetzungen . . . , II B: Spensers Verhältnis zu Tasso," *Anglia*, XI, 341–62; in the annotated editions, especially those of Todd and Kitchin, and in R. E. Neil Dodge, "Spenser's Imitations from Ariosto," *PMLA*, XII, 151. Dodge here says that "the Bower of Bliss (Book II, canto XII) is taken bodily from the *Gerusalemme liberata* (c. XV, XVI)," a statement more sweeping than accurate. While it is true that Spenser probably borrowed more from *Gerusalemme liberata* than from any other single source, the fact remains that he and Tasso are working on the basis of different conceptions of the fairy otherworld. Tasso is using the convention of the mountain, possibly oriental in origin, and Spenser the more typical Celtic convention of the island. Cf. H. R. Patch, "Medieval Descriptions of the Otherworld," *PMLA*, XXVI (1918), 606–19.

There are several other possible sources. In the first place *St. Brandan*, or *Imram Brendain*, to use its Celtic title, is one of a series of *imrama*, or tales of sea voyages which follow much the same lines as *St. Brandan*.<sup>1</sup> There are strange and remarkable islands in all, supernatural events, and often wondrously beautiful women who lure the voyagers into the land of the unreal (especially in *Imram Brain mac Febail*, and *Imram Curaig Maelduin*). It is possible and not in the least improbable that Spenser, with his interest in fable and legend of every sort, may have picked up some of these tales during his long residence in Ireland.<sup>2</sup> It is possible also that he became acquainted with the happy otherworld as it appeared in numerous other Celtic legends. Perhaps he had heard the story of how the fairy maiden lured away Condla the Fair to be "an everlasting king, without wail or woe" in the Land of the Living where it is ever summer and the flowers ever bloom.<sup>3</sup> Possibly also he knew of the voyage of Teigue, son of Cian, in which Teigue touches on a fairy otherworld almost as beautiful as Spenser's own and in many respects similar to it.<sup>4</sup> There are "delicate woods with empurpled tree-tops fringing the delightful streams" (cf. Spenser, st. 58); there is a marvelous "minstrelsy" of birds; a wonderful fragrance (Spenser: "That still it breathed forth sweet spirit and wholesome smell," st. 51); there are luscious grapes (sts. 54-55), superlatively lovely women, and rich workmanship in gold and silver and precious jewels.<sup>5</sup> Before one draws any hasty conclusions, however, it should be remembered that many of these features,

<sup>1</sup> For a list of the *imrama* see Best, *op. cit.*, or Thrall, "Vergil's *Aeneid* and the Irish *Imrama*: Zimmer's Theory," *Modern Philology*, XV, 450.

<sup>2</sup> There is no evidence that Spenser read Irish. He would have to get these tales second hand.

<sup>3</sup> The "Adventure of Condla the Fair," trans. by J. O'Beirne Crowe, *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, XIII, 129 ff.

<sup>4</sup> S. H. O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica: The Adventures of Teigue, Son of Cian* (London and Edinburgh, 1892), II, 385-401.

<sup>5</sup> For a summary of the features of the Celtic otherworld which was to be found across the sea, see Alfred Nutt, "The Happy Otherworld in the Mythico-Romantic Literature of the Irish," in *The Voyage of Bran, Son of Febal, to the Land of the Living*, ed. by K. Meyer (London, 1895-97), I, 229-30; Zimmer, "Keltische Beiträge, II," *Z.J.D.A.*, XXXIII, 280-81; and A. C. L. Brown, "Iwain," *Harvard Studies and Notes*, VIII, 82-94. Westropp has pointed out ("Brazil and the Legendary Islands of the North Atlantic," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, XXX, 255) that this happy otherworld, called variously Magh Mell, the Isle of the Living, the Isle of Truth, the Isle of Joy, etc., was associated with the legendary island of O Brazil which was sought by early mariners, and actually placed on the charts from 1320 down to 1865.

especially the fragrance, the music, the equable temperature, and the beautiful landscape, are conventions which are common not only to Celtic but to non-Celtic descriptions of the happy otherworld.<sup>1</sup> In the *Vision of Saturnus*, for example, mention is made of the "un-speakable sweet odor"; in the *Visio Pauli*, of the wonderful fruits and vines and of the "land more brilliant than gold and silver"; in the *History of Barlaam and Josophat*, of the clear music of the trees and the delicate fragrance.<sup>2</sup> And the Old English poem, *The Phoenix*, has an elaborate and beautiful description of an otherworld scene in which the temperateness of the climate and the beauty of the country are as elaborately set forth as by Spenser and very nearly as ably. Even the grotesque *Land of Cockayne* has most of the common conventions.<sup>3</sup> It is hard to conceive that as wide a reader as Spenser could have been unacquainted with at least some of these accounts, but their very multiplicity makes it utterly useless to attempt to set up any one of them as a direct source.

The situation seems to be slightly different, however, in the case of a possible Greek source, the *True History* of Lucian, the tale of a voyage across the ocean and through space to many wonderful islands and countries, among them the Isle of the Blest. While there is no single parallel between Spenser's account and the *True History* significant enough in itself to establish a definite relationship between them, there are enough similarities in details to make out a fairly good case. The *True History* was easily accessible to Spenser. There were a number of Latin translations of the *Works*, two Latin translations of the *True History*, one published in 1475 and one in 1493, and there was a French translation of the *Works*, published in 1583.

There was, however, another source of material which Spenser had at hand besides the Celtic and non-Celtic mythical voyages to the happy otherworld, and that was the sixteenth-century travel

<sup>1</sup> Cf. A. C. L. Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 133-47, for a discussion of the happy otherworld in romances and lays.

<sup>2</sup> There are quotations from these three works in Nutt, *op. cit.*, pp. 248-49.

<sup>3</sup> Nutt has discussed certain classical treatments of the happy otherworld idea, *op. cit.*, I, 258 ff. See also a work not mentioned by Nutt, the *Oceanica* of Iambulus, retold by Diodorus, ii. 4, and by Purchas in *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, Bk. I, chap. viii. Iambulus sails across the ocean to a marvelous island which has a temperate climate, wonderful fruits and flowers, etc.

lore with which, as we have already seen, Spenser undoubtedly had some acquaintance.

Let us turn back to the beginning and consider some of the episodes in the light of these other possible sources.

*Stanzas 4, 7, 8: "The Rocke of vile Reproch."*—This rock, composed "of mightie *Magnes* stone," that draws passing boats toward it, is to be met with in the tales of the travelers. André Thevet, in his *Singularitez*, writes: "Likewise in this same sea are found Ilands named Manioles . . . nere to the which there are great rocks that draw the ships unto them, be'cause of the yron wherwith they are nailed."<sup>1</sup> There seems to be a closer parallel in Mandeville, however, if one takes into consideration the continuation of the description in stanza 7:

On th' other side, they saw that perilous Rocke,  
Threatning it selfe on them to ruinate,  
On whose sharpe clifts the ribs of vessels broke,  
And shiuered ships, which had bene wrecked late,  
Yet stuck.

In Mandeville, chapter xxx, we find:

For in many places of the sea be great rocks of stones of the adamant, that of his proper nature draweth iron to him. . . . I myself have seen afar in that sea, as though it had been a great isle full of trees and buscaylle, full of thorns and briars great plenty. And the shipmen told us, that all that was of ships that were drawn thither by the adamants, for the iron that was in them. And of the rotten-ness, and other thing that was within the ships, grew such buscaylle . . . and of the masts and sail-yards.<sup>2</sup>

*Stanzas 10–13: The wandring islands.*—Spenser's reference in this passage to the island of Delos suggests a classical source for the idea,<sup>3</sup> but it is worth noting that there was still a widespread belief in the sixteenth century in the existence of floating islands. They were usually referred to as St. Brandan's Isle, or sometimes the Isles of St. Brandan, and often appeared on the early maps in various parts of the Atlantic.<sup>4</sup> So firm was the belief in such an island as

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 178–79; see also pp. 109–10.

<sup>3</sup> Besides the island of Delos here referred to, there are classical allusions to the Cyanean Islands, or Symplegades, Herodotus iv. 85; Pindar *Pyth. Odes* iv. 371, etc. See, further, the classical references in the passage from F. Colon to follow.

<sup>4</sup> Westropp, *op. cit.*, pp. 241–45.

St. Brandan's that various expeditions were sent out to find it, and it was said by the Portuguese, Louis Perdigon, that the king of Portugal had ceded the island to his father "if he could discover it."<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the best exposition of the sixteenth-century ideas on the subject occurs in Ferdinand Colon's *History of the Life and Actions of Admiral Christopher Colon*, first published in Italian in 1571. The question of whether or not this is a forged document need not concern us here. Columbus is reported by the author to have doubted the discovery of certain islands, thinking that

perhaps they were some of those floating islands that are carried about by the water, called by the sailors Aguadas, whereof Pliny makes mention in the first book, chap. 97, of his natural history; where he says, that in the northern parts the sea discovered some spots of land, on which there are trees of deep roots, which parcels of land are carried about like floats or islands upon the water. Seneca undertaking to give a natural reason why there are such sorts of islands says in his third book, that it is the nature of certain spongy and light rocks, so that the islands made of them in India, swim upon the water. So that were it never so true, that the said Anthony Leme had seen some island, the admiral was of opinion, it could be no other than one of them, such as those called of St. Brandam are supposed to be, where many wonders are reported to have been seen. . . . Juventius Fortunatus relates, that there is an account of two islands towards the west, and more southward than those of Cabo Verde, which swim along upon the water.<sup>2</sup>

Further, John Sparke in his narrative of *The Voyage made by Master John Hawkins . . . in 1564* mentions "certain flitting islands," in the neighborhood of the Fortunate Islands. Finally, there are floating islands in the *True History* of Lucian:

We had proceeded something less than fifty miles when we saw a great forest, thick with pines and cypresses. This we took for the main land; but it was in fact deep sea, set with trees; they had no roots, but yet remained in their places, floating upright as it were.<sup>3</sup>

*Stanzas 18–19: "The Quicksand of Unthrifthyed" and the goodly ship stranded thereon.*—If Spenser had in mind some particular ship in this account—and considering his general tendency toward specific allegory, it is likely that he did have—it may very well have been

<sup>1</sup> Jubinal, *op. cit.*, p. xvii.

<sup>2</sup> Pinkerton, *General Collection of Voyages and Travels* (London, 1812), XIII, 14–15. See also the reference to the Isle of St. Brandon in Caxton, *Mirror of the World*, Part II, chap. xiii.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 170.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert's vessel, the "Delight," which was stranded on the sands and there wrecked by the waves in 1583. It will be remembered that Raleigh was particularly interested in this expedition to plant colonies in the new world and had shared in the undertaking to the extent of sending along a ship of his own, which, however, was forced to abandon the voyage. Spenser, if he had not seen or heard an account of this disaster elsewhere, could have got it from Raleigh himself. Edward Hayes, in his account of the voyage writes, "Betimes in the morning we were altogether run and folded in amongst flats and sands." The breaking of the waves upon the sands made Master Cox think that he had seen land. (Compare with Spenser's "That quicksand nigh with water couered; But by the checked wave they did descry It plaine," st. 18, vss. 6-8.) After the "Delight" grounded,

all that day, and part of the next, we beat up and down as near unto the wreck as was possible for us, looking out if by good hap we might espy any of them. This was a heavy and grievous event, to lose at one blow our chief ship freighted with great provision, gathered together with much travail, care, long time, and difficulty.

etc.<sup>1</sup> (Compare with Spenser, st. 19.) There is no other stranded vessel quite so well known as this or quite so similar to Spenser's "goodly Ship." In *The Famous Voyage of Sir Francis Drake . . . begun in the year of our Lord 1577*, there is a description of a stranded ship, it is true, but this ship was stranded on the rocks and it was saved by the mariners.

*Stanzas 21-26: The episode of the sea monsters.*—Although this episode is generally parallel with two episodes in *St. Brandan*, it will be remembered that there was nothing either in the prose or metrical version of the legend quite comparable to the description of the "dreadful noise, and hollow rombling roar" as the fish "Came rushing in the foamy waves enrold" (st. 25; see also st. 22). There are, however, descriptions parallel to this in the travel books. In the "True and Last Discouerie of Florida" printed by Hakluyt in the *Divers Voyages*, 1582, there is a description of water which was

<sup>1</sup> *The Principal Navigations* (Glasgow, 1904), VIII, 65-67. Spenser probably did not see this particular account of the wreck, for it was first published by Hakluyt in 1589. I give the quotations to illustrate the similarity in the situation.

"boylng and roaring through the multitude of all kind of fish";<sup>1</sup> and in Thevet's *Singularitez* we find:

About this lyne [Equinoctiall] is founde such abundance of fishes of sundry and divers kindeſ, that it is a marvelous and wonderful thing to ſee them above water, and I have heard them make ſuch a noyſe about the ſhips ſide, that we could not hear one another ſpeke.<sup>2</sup>

*Stanzas 43–45: The wall and the ivory gates.*—Spenser tells us concerning the Bowre of Bliffe that "Goodly it was enclosed round about," and that there was a gate which "framed was of precious yuory, That ſeemed a work of admirable wit." One of the commonest devices of the Celtic *imrama* and legends is that of the walled island. Gold and silver ramparts abound in the otherworld descriptions. In the *Imram Curaig Maelduin* there is an island with four walls, composed respectively of gold, silver, brass, and crystal,<sup>3</sup> and in the country visited by Teigue, ſon of Cian, there is a palisade of gold about *inis Patmos*, the abode of the saints and holy men, and a silver rampart about the abode which was prepared for the righteous kings of Ireland.<sup>4</sup> It is unnecessary to multiply examples. Spenser may or may not have had these descriptions in mind. The ivory gates are to be found in the *True History*. The passage is this: "At laſt we reached it [the Isle of Dreams] and ſailed into Slumber, the port, close to the ivory gates where stands the temple of the Cock."<sup>5</sup> The ſuggeſtion for the picture on the gates Spenger probably got from the elaborate silver doors in *Gerusalemme liberata*, XVI, 2–8.

*Stanzas 54–57: The intoxicating fruit.*—In the Bowre of Bliffe is an arbor of grapes, ſome "empurpled as the Hyacint," ſome ruby, ſome emerald, and ſome like burnished gold, and there is a "comely dame" who takes this fruit, "ſcruzes" it into a cup of gold, and offers the wine to paſſers-by. St. Brandan and his monks stop at a "lytell ylonde, wherein were many vynes full of grapes,"<sup>6</sup> but these grapes are not ſpoken of as intoxicating. Intoxicating fruit, however, is frequently met in other Celtic voyages to the otherworld.

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 98.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 29.

<sup>3</sup> *Revue celtique*, IX, 487; ſee also X, 51.

<sup>4</sup> *Silva Gadelica*, II, 391, 393.

<sup>5</sup> Lucian, *op. cit.*, p. 166. The idea doubtless goes back to Homer *Odyſſey* xix, 562 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 47.

The following illustration from the *Imram Curaig Maelduin* is typical. Maelduin

squeezed some of the berries into a vessel and drank [the juice], and it cast him into a deep sleep from that hour to the same hour on the morrow. And they knew not whether he was alive or dead with the red foam round his lips, till on the morrow he awoke. [Then] he said to them: "Gather ye this fruit, for great is its excellence."<sup>1</sup>

There are also intoxicating grapes in Lucian's *True History*. The voyagers come upon a vine, half-human in quality, the very kiss of whose grapes on the lips of the men is intoxicating.<sup>2</sup> I find no descriptions of golden fruit, but golden and silver foliage is found in a number of descriptions of the Celtic otherworld.<sup>3</sup>

*Stanzas 63–69: The episode of the bathers.*—Although this passage is undoubtedly an imitation of *Gerusalemme liberata*, XV, 58–66, it is interesting to note that there is an episode in which a somewhat similar device is used in *Imram Curaig Maelduin* (Sec. xxviii), and there is a kind of grotesque analogy in the *Land of Cockayne*:

The *zung* nunnes takith a bote  
And doth hem forth in that riuier  
Bothe with oris and with stere.  
When hi beth fur from the abbei,  
Hi makith ham nakid for to plei,  
And lepithe dune in-to the brimme,  
And doth ham sleilich for to swimme.<sup>4</sup>

*Stanzas 70–76: The music.*—This passage, again, seems to be drawn chiefly from *Gerusalemme liberata*, XVI, 12 ff., but there are certain details not to be found in this source. Spenser describes the "most melodious sound" as being compounded of the music of "Birdes, voyces, instruments, windes, waters," which idea he develops charmingly in stanza 71. In the following stanza he mentions a choir of "Many faire Ladies, and lasciuious boyes." Tasso blends merely the song of the birds and the winds:

The wind that in the leaves and waters played  
With murmur sweet, now sung, and whistled now;  
Ceased the birds, the wind loud answer made,  
And while they sung, it rumbled soft and low.

<sup>1</sup> *Revue celtique*, X, 71.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 139.

<sup>3</sup> Especially in "The Adventure of St. Columba's Clerics," *Revue celtique*, XXVI, 139; *The Voyage of Bran*, I, 20.

<sup>4</sup> Mützner, *Altenglische Sprachproben*, I, 147–52, ll. 152 ff.

Even the solo in his version is sung by a bird. But in Lucian there are the following descriptions:

Sweet zephyrs just stirred the woods with their breath, and brought whispering melody, delicious, incessant, from the swaying branches; it was like Pan-pipes heard in a desert place. And with it all there mingled a volume of human sound, a sound not of tumult, but rather of revels where some flute, and some praise the fluting, and some clap their hands commanding flute or harp;

and,

During the meal there is music and song. . . . The choirs are of boys and girls. . . . When these have finished, a second choir succeeds, of swans and swallows and nightingales; and when their turn is done, all the trees begin to pipe, conducted by the winds.<sup>1</sup>

*Stanza 77: Acrasie represented as reclining on a bed of roses.*—This detail does not occur in *Gerusalemme liberata* which Spenser is following rather closely in this passage, but in the *True History*, again, the guests in the banqueting place “recline on cushions of flowers.” There would, of course, be no significance whatever in the resemblance in this minor detail if it were not for the numerous other corresponding details.

I should be sorry to seem to imply that Book II, canto xii, is nothing more than a laborious compilation from a number of specific sources, and that Spenser himself was incapable of inventing even minor elaborations on the general scheme. It has been my only purpose to attempt to illumine somewhat a very small portion of the vast background of tale and legend which must have contributed at some time or other to the storehouse of Spenser’s mind before he wrote the *Faerie Queene*. About the common theme of the voyage and the fairy otherworld there became associated in his mind such facts and fancies as lingered there from many and varied sources, ideas which came into play when he started to write his own voyage to the Bowre of Blisse. Fairly certainly one of these contributing tales was some version of the St. Brandan legend. Possibly certain other Celtic myths and legends contributed. Without doubt some of the very prolific tales of the travelers helped to make up the background whether or not Spenser got his material directly from the specific sources noted. Possibly there remained associated

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, 156, 159–60.

together in his mind a group of details from the *True History*—the ivory gates, the blended music, the couch of flowers, the floating islands. Finally one of the sources which he knew the most intimately, or possibly had read the most recently, was the description of the Garden of Armida from the *Gerusalemme liberata*.

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## THOMAS CORNEILLE'S RE-WORKING OF MOLIÈRE'S *DON JUAN*

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In his very thoroughgoing work, *La Légende de Don Juan—son évolution dans la littérature des origines au romantisme*,<sup>1</sup> Georges Gendarme de Bévotte devotes considerable space to Molière's *Don Juan ou le Festin de Pierre*, and to the *Don Juan* plays which preceded and followed it. Of those which followed Molière, the first play to be mentioned is the *Festin de Pierre* of Thomas Corneille. In some three or four rather sketchy pages, Gendarme de Bévotte points out the principal alterations introduced by Corneille into the Molière version, and the difference in tone which pervades the two plays. It would seem, however, that he might well have elaborated on some of these points and that he might have attempted to drive them home by the quotation of parallels from the two works; and perhaps it may not be amiss to try to fill in this gap, especially since there are a few matters of technique and detail which Gendarme de Bévotte does not consider at all in his study. The object of this present paper will be to bring the *Don Juan* of Molière and the *Festin de Pierre* of Thomas Corneille into closer juxtaposition than has hitherto been done.

On February 15, 1665, Molière's *Don Juan ou le Festin de Pierre* was presented, for the first time, at the Théâtre du Palais-Royal; the play was in five acts and in prose, and was called by its author a comedy, despite the fact that it concludes with the death of the central figure. The presentation of *Don Juan* aroused a storm of protest, as had that of *Tartuffe* before it, the author being accused of rank impiety. The comedy was attacked with especial bitterness in the *Observations sur une comédie de Molière intitulée le "Festin de Pierre"* (1665), the author of which concealed his identity in the various editions either under the initials B.A.S.D.R. or under the

<sup>1</sup> Paris, Hachette, 1906. This work was crowned by the French Academy, and has since been reprinted in abridged form, with an additional second volume in which the study is carried down to our own day (Paris, 1911).

pseudonym of B. A. sieur de Rochemont. This writer<sup>1</sup> says, among other things:

The Emperor Augustus put to death a buffoon who had made sport of Jupiter, and he forbade women to attend plays that were far more modest than those of Molière. Moreover, Theodosian condemned to death by wild beasts comedians who derided sacred ceremonies in plays which did not even remotely approach the *Festin de Pierre* in violence.<sup>2</sup>

He cannot refrain, continues the writer, from expressing his astonishment that the king and queen should prove so indifferent in the whole matter. Nevertheless, Molière had his defenders, who maintained that *Don Juan* had been thus warmly attacked simply because it was the work of the author of *Tartuffe*, that plays on the same subject were produced in Spain and in Italy, with the knowledge and consent of the Inquisition, and that the Italian players and even the "théâtre français" had done as much in Paris. The king was sensible to the claims of these latter and to the genius of Molière, to whom he gave the title of "comédien du roi." However, *Don Juan* was not to the taste of seventeenth-century French audiences; it was produced only fifteen times, and was then removed from the stage, for the time being, in the form in which it had left the pen of Molière.<sup>3</sup>

In 1673, the year of the death of Molière, *Don Juan* was recast by Thomas Corneille into a five-act comedy in alexandrines, the main title of Molière's play being suppressed and replaced by its sub-title, *Le Festin de Pierre*; the drama was successfully staged, four years later, at the theatre of the rue Guénégaud. Aimé-Martin tells us that Corneille made this remodelling at the request of Molière's widow and that the alexandrine version of the play was produced thirteen times. In his "Avis" to the *Festin de Pierre*, Corneille says simply that it was at the solicitation of friends that he undertook the revision, and that he had done so in order to allay the outburst

<sup>1</sup> For the authorship of this pamphlet, cf. Gendarme de Bévotte, *op. cit.*, pp. 144-46, and R. Allier, *La Cabale des dévots* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1902), p. 402. The former, starting from the generally accepted conclusion of M. Ch.-L. Livet ("Problèmes molièresques," *Moniteur Universel*, March 14, 1878) that the author was the well-known Jansenist, Barbier d'Aucour, formulates the opinion that the *Observations* were the work of another Jansenist, Pierre Rouillé; Allier, on the other hand, is convinced that the author is not a Jansenist at all, but either a Jesuit or a friend of the "Compagnie de Jésus."

<sup>2</sup> The translation is the present writer's own, made from the text reprinted by L. Aimé-Martin in his *Molière* edition, Paris, 1824.

<sup>3</sup> The play was "revived" on the stage of the Théâtre National de l'Odéon on November 17, 1841.

of criticism to which *Don Juan* had given rise. He followed the original very closely, he tells us (and as we shall soon have occasion to see for ourselves), save that he took a few liberties with the third and fifth acts. These alterations, which we shall consider here, are of three kinds: first, those which were forced upon Corneille by the mere fact that he was converting a prose comedy into a drama in alexandrines; second, those which he expressly introduced for the purpose of moderating the tone of the original; and third, those which were effected for reasons of style or technique.<sup>1</sup>

Let us first, however, cast a glance at the *dramatis personae*. We at once observe that Corneille retains almost intact the cast of Molière. The only changes to be noted are these: Corneille suppresses the pauper (Francisque), one of the three valets of Don Juan (Ragotin), and the veiled specter of Act V; on the other hand, he introduces three female characters who do not appear in Molière, and who are responsible for the alterations in the third and fifth acts—a country damsel (Léonor), her aunt (Thérèse), and her "nourrice" (Pascale).

When we arrive at a consideration of the text of the two plays, we soon perceive that Corneille's verse sounds exceedingly stilted and "mouthy" when compared with Molière's vigorous prose, and that the best passages in the former are those which correspond almost word for word with the latter. This is particularly true of the speeches which issue from the mouth of Sganarelle, Don Juan's unwillingly faithful squire. Compare these two passages from the very first scene:

*Sganarelle*: J'ai peur qu'elle ne soit mal payée de son amour, que son voyage en cette ville ne produise peu de fruit, et que vous n'eussiez autant gagné à ne bouger de là [*Don Juan*].

*Sganarelle*:

. . . mais tout voyage coûte;  
Et j'ai peur, s'il te faut expliquer mon souci,  
Qu'on l'indemnise mal des frais de celui-ci  
[*Festin de Pierre*].

This last verse, with its clumsy circumlocution, is undoubtedly much weaker than the blunt asseveration of Molière's Sganarelle.

<sup>1</sup> In the following discussion, Molière's play will regularly be referred to as *Don Juan*, and that of Corneille as *Festin de Pierre*.

A little farther in the same scene, we encounter a passage which undergoes similar weakening in the hands of Corneille. We read:

*Sganarelle*: Tu vois en Don Juan, mon maître, le plus grand scélérat que la terre ait jamais porté, un enrageré, un chien, un diable, un hérétique qui ne croit ni saint, ni Dieu, ni loup-garou, qui passe cette vie en véritable bête brute, un pourceau d'Epicure, un vrai Sardanapale . . . . [Don Juan].

*Sganarelle*:

Que c'est un endurci, dans la fange plongé,  
Un chien, un hérétique, un turc, un enrageré,  
Qu'il n'a ni foi, ni loi; . . . .

Il est ce qu'on appelle un pourceau d'Epicure

[*Festin de Pierre*].

Finally, we can gain a good insight into Corneille's method by examining the concluding line of Act IV, scene 15, of the *Festin de Pierre*, which reads:

Ah, pauvre Sganarelle, où te cacheras-tu ?

If we look at *Don Juan* (Act IV, scene 11), we shall see that the line occurs here in the very same form. In other words, what happens is that Molière, in reality always the poet, cannot help writing a sort of rhythmic prose, which occasionally, as here, falls into the mold of the alexandrine, and that Corneille is quick to take advantage of this fact by preserving such lines in their integrity.

Let us now consider a few of the alterations effected by Corneille for the purpose of moderating the tone of the original. In the third scene of Act I, we find the following passage:

*Done Elvire*: mais sache que ton crime ne demeurera pas impuni, et que le même ciel dont tu te joues me saura venger de ta perfidie.

*Don Juan*: Sganarelle, le ciel!

*Sganarelle*: Vraiment, oui. *Nous nous moquons bien de cela, nous autres* [Don Juan].

This was far too strong for Corneille, who omits the last thunderbolt.

*Done Elvire*:

Et que ce même ciel, dont tu t'oses railler,  
A me venger de toi voudra bien travailler.

*Sganarelle (bas):*

Se peut-il qu'il résiste, et que rien ne l'étonne ?  
Monsieur. . . . .

*Don Juan:*

De fausseté je vois qu'on me soupçonne  
*[Festin de Pierre].*

Two slight changes, in the direction of refinement, may be noted here. That they are improvements is more than questionable. In scene 2 of Act II, Don Juan says to Charlotte: "Que je voie un peu vos dents, je vous prie. Ah! qu'elles sont amoureuses, et ces lèvres appétissantes." Of this Corneille makes the following:

. . . Et vos dents ? Il n'est rien si parfait.  
Ces lèvres ont surtout un vermeil que j'admire.

Again, in Act IV, scene 1, Molière makes Don Juan say to Sganarelle: "Ecoute. Si tu m'importunes davantage de tes *sottes* moralités . . . , " whereas Corneille puts into his mouth the weakened expression:

Ecoute. S'il t'échappe un seul mot davantage  
Sur tes moralités. . . .

Of all the many modifications of a similar nature that Corneille introduced into his version of Molière's play, three stand out with particular prominence, and it is to these that we may now turn our attention. The first scene of Act III, in which Molière puts into Don Juan's mouth the celebrated diatribe against physicians and which Corneille takes over virtually intact, contains the well-known cross-examination of Don Juan by Sganarelle which confirmed the opinion that the "comédien du roi" was an atheist and which particularly aroused the spleen of the sieur de Rochemont, to whose *Observations* we have already had occasion to refer. The passage in question reads:

*Sganarelle:* Je veux savoir un peu vos pensées. Est-il possible que vous ne croyez point du tout au ciel ?—*Don Juan:* Laissons cela.—*Sganarelle:* C'est-à-dire que non. Et à l'enfer ?—*Don Juan:* Eh !—*Sganarelle:* Tout de même. Et au diable, s'il vous plaît ?—*Don Juan:* Oui, oui.—*Sganarelle:* Aussi peu. Ne croyez-vous point à l'autre vie ?—*Don Juan:* Ah ! Ah ! Ah !—*Sganarelle:* Voilà un homme que j'aurai bien de la peine à convertir. Et dites-moi un peu, le moine bourru, qu'en croyez-vous, eh ?—*Don Juan:* La peste soit du fat !—*Sganarelle:* Mais encore faut-il croire quelque chose

dans le monde. Qu'est-ce donc que vous croyez?—*Don Juan*: Ce que je crois?—*Sganarelle*: Oui.—*Don Juan*: Je crois que deux et deux sont quatre, Sganarelle, et que quatre et quatre sont huit.—*Sganarelle*: La belle croyance et les beaux articles de foi que voilà! Votre religion, à ce que je vois, est donc l'arithmétique?

It would seem highly likely that Don Juan is here the mouthpiece of Molière himself; the mere fact, as has frequently been pointed out, that Sganarelle, the valet, is the champion of tradition would indicate that it is not the latter who is voicing Molière's views. Be that as it may, Don Juan's reduction of religion to the elements of mathematics would certainly not be calculated to please the ears of hearers accustomed to the sermons of a Bossuet and a Bourdaloue. We can well imagine with what amazement and anger the foregoing dialogue must have been received, and it is not at all surprising that many Molière editions print only an abbreviated variant scene in which Don Juan nips in the bud, by the threat of a blow of the fist, all of Sganarelle's questionings. And the reason is clear for the abbreviated version that Corneille offered the courtiers of the Grand Monarque—a version that might pass almost unnoticed.

*Sganarelle*:

Que croyez-vous?

*Don Juan*:

Je crois ce qu'il faut que je croie.

*Sganarelle*:

Bon. Parlons doucement et sans nous échauffer.

Le ciel. . . .

*Don Juan*:

Laissons cela.

*Sganarelle*:

C'est fort bien dit. L'enfer. . . .

*Don Juan*:

Laissons cela, te dis-je.

*Sganarelle*:

Il n'est pas nécessaire

De vous expliquer mieux: votre réponse est claire

[*Festin de Pierre*].

Of course, one can infer almost anything one pleases from this "réponse claire" of Don Juan; indeed, one might almost credit him with pure ultramontanism as a result of his statement that he

believes "what it is necessary for him to believe." In any event, Corneille here succeeds in his purpose of rendering *Don Juan* more palatable to the stage public of the day, though scarcely to the advantage of Molière's original.

The second scene of Act III of *Don Juan* likewise offended the ears and the consciences of Molière's audiences. In this scene, Don Juan and Sganarelle encounter the pauper, Francisque, who begs an alms. The following dialogue ensues between Don Juan and Francisque:

*Don Juan:* Quel est ton occupation?—*Le Pauvre:* De prier le ciel tout le jour pour la prospérité des gens qui me donnent quelque chose.—*Don Juan:* Il ne se peut donc pas que tu ne sois bien à ton aise?—*Le Pauvre:* Hélas! Monsieur, je suis dans la plus grande nécessité du monde.—*Don Juan:* Tu te moques; un homme qui prie le ciel tout le jour ne peut pas manquer d'être bien de ses affaires.

After vainly attempting to bribe the pious pauper into uttering an oath, Don Juan gives him a *louis d'or*, "pour l'amour de l'humanité," and rushes off to the assistance of someone who is being beset by three ruffians.

This scene of mocking raillery was too harsh for the age. Here, again, it appears probable that it is Molière himself who speaks from the mouth of Don Juan, whom he makes the trumpet of his own philosophy of epicurean Pyrrhonism. Corneille avoids the difficulties presented by the scene just cited by simply ignoring it completely and by substituting for it three scenes of his own invention (Act III, scenes 2, 3, and 4); in the first, Don Juan cajoles Léonor, an innocent country miss of fourteen, into promising to become his wife; in the second, Sganarelle, in the disguise of a physician, prescribes a remedy for the asthma of Thérèse, the aunt of Léonor, thus distracting her attention while Don Juan fixes a rendezvous with his latest conquest; and in the last, Sganarelle again avails himself of the opportunity of taking Don Juan to task for his polygamous proclivities and for his duplicity toward the sex, but, as usual, his words pass unheeded. And only at this point in Corneille's play does Don Juan become aware of the mêlée in the course of which Don Carlos is being hard pressed by three scoundrels; he rushes off to the assistance of the sorely beset Don, leaving Sganarelle determined to protect

his skin as best he may. This altered version of Corneille's, though it adds another unedifying episode to a play that was already sufficiently unpalatable, would naturally not prove so offensive to the taste of the audience, inasmuch as it adheres strictly to the Don Juan tradition and only makes him commit another act that is of a piece with his entire character. In a word, seduction, which belongs to the traditional Don Juan rôle, was, at the court of the "roi soleil," a far less heinous crime than blasphemy.

Before examining the last important revision of the kind we have thus far been considering, we may cite two passages in which Corneille's effort to tack the moral to the Don Juan fable is very apparent. In scene 11 of *Don Juan* we read:

*Don Juan* (se mettant à table): Sganarelle, il faut songer à s'amender, pourtant.—*Sganarelle*: Oui-da.—*Don Juan*: Oui, ma, foi, il faut s'amender. Encore vingt ou trente ans de cette vie-ci, et puis nous songerons à nous.—*Sganarelle*: Oh!—*Don Juan*: Qu'en dis-tu?—*Sganarelle*: Rien. Voilà le souper.

Corneille was not satisfied with this easy acquiescence on the part of the valet, whom, as ever, he makes the "advocatus Dei." The version in the *Festin de Pierre* runs as follows:

*Don Juan*:

Va, va, je vais bientôt songer à m'amender.

*Sganarelle*:

Ma foi! n'en riez point; rien n'est si nécessaire  
Que de se convertir.

*Don Juan*:

C'est ce que je veux faire.  
Encor vingt ou trente ans des plaisirs les plus doux,  
Toujours en joie, et puis nous penserons à nous.

*Sganarelle*:

Voilà des libertins l'ordinaire language;  
Mais la mort. . . .

*Don Juan*:

Hem?

*Sganarelle*:

Qu'on serve. Ah! bon! monsieur, courage!  
Grande chère, tandis que nous nous portons bien.

The final scene of Act IV is padded a bit by Corneille, for the same purpose. Thus, whereas Molière makes the statue speak only once,

to invite Don Juan to dine with him, Corneille puts into his mouth two platitudes. We read:

*La Statue du Commandeur:*

C'en est assez, je suis content de ton repas.

Le temps fuit, la mort vient, et tu n'y penses pas.

*Don Juan:*

Ces avertissements me sont peu nécessaires.

Chantons; une autre fois nous parlerons d'affaires.

*La Statue:*

Peut-être une autre fois tu le voudras trop tard.

We have now arrived at the last and crucial act of the play. Corneille takes considerable liberty with this act. In the first scene, he introduces two additions: (1) he makes Don Juan pretend to be preparing to enter a monastery in expiation of the sins of his youth; and (2) he makes Don Luis express his gratitude for his son's repentance by offering to pay all his debts. Scene 2 is essentially the same in both, save that allusions to the two additions just mentioned occur in Corneille, and that the latter considerably shortens Sganarelle's endless Baralipton syllogism that brings the scene to a close. Don Juan's violent exposé of the hypocrisy that reigns at court and the use of the cloth as a cloak for secret acts of wantonness (one thinks, perforce, of the digression in Milton's *Lycidas*, written some thirty years before *Don Juan*) is retained almost in its integrity by Corneille. But, "en revanche," Corneille changes the final scenes of the play practically at will. The encounter of Don Carlos and Don Juan, in which the latter practices, for the first time, the hypocrisy he has determined henceforth to employ is, apparently, too much for Corneille, with its frequent invocations of Heaven; in its place, Corneille substitutes the meeting of Don Juan with Léonor, who comes accompanied by her nurse, Pascale, and who is on the point of yielding to the ravisher's solicitations when the statue of the Commander intervenes. Molière's veiled female specter, which warns Don Juan to depart before it is too late and then metamorphoses itself into a representation of Father Time, is omitted by Corneille. And finally, Corneille lengthens somewhat the "Thou art the man" speech of the statue with which the play is

virtually brought to its close. In Molière, the statue of the Commander utters the following words: "Don Juan, l'endurcissement au péché traîne une mort funeste, et les grâces du ciel que l'on renvoie ouvrent un chemin à la foudre." Whereupon Don Juan pays the price for all his violations of the moral law: "Un feu invisible me brûle," he exclaims, "je n'en puis plus, et tout mon corps devient un brasier ardent." In the *Festin de Pierre*, the statue utters these words:

Je t'ai dit, dès tantôt, que tu ne songeais pas  
Que la mort chaque jour s'avancait à grands pas.  
Au lieu d'y réfléchir, tu retournes au crime,  
Et t'ouvres à toute heure abîme sur abîme.  
Après avoir en vain si longtemps attendu,  
Le ciel se lasse: prends, voilà ce qu'il t'est dû.

And Don Juan is swallowed up into the earth, without having been able to repent; for this is clearly the significance of his final words in the *Festin de Pierre*:

Je brûle, et c'est trop tard que mon âme interdite . . . .  
Ciel!

It is plain that Molière, in making Don Juan the victim of his own crimes, is really pandering to the tastes of his public, which his play had already more than outraged. Proof positive of this fact is furnished by the words of Sganarelle which bring the drama to its termination:<sup>1</sup>

Voilà, par sa mort, un chacun satisfait. Ciel offendré, lois voilées, filles séduites, familles déshonorées, parents outragés, femmes mises à mal, maris poussés à bout, *tout le monde est content*. Il n'y a que moi de malheureux, qui, après tant d'années de service, n'ai point d'autre récompense que de voir à mes yeux l'impiété de mon maître punie par le plus épouvantable châtiment du monde.

<sup>1</sup> In the editions of 1683 and 1694, this speech of Sganarelle begins with the exclamation: "Ah! mes gages, mes gages," and ends with the words "Mes gagees" uttered three times after the word "malheureux," at which point the speech in the variant form terminates. It is these words that Edmond Rostand uses in the prologue to his last completed play, *La Dernière Nuit de Don Juan*, published for the first time in its full form in the *Illustration* (Paris) for February 5, 1921; the prologue had been printed, by special permission, in *Comœdia* (Paris) of the preceding day.

Corneille was not slow to grasp the evasiveness of this conclusion, and, consequently, he closes with a moral:

*Sganarelle:*

. . . . Il est englouti! Je cours me rendre hermite.  
L'exemple est étonnant pour tous les scélérats,  
Malheur à qui le voit et n'en profite pas!

Before bringing our study to a close, we may consider a few of the remaining differences noticeable in the two versions, differences introduced by Corneille for purposes other than those which have already been discussed. The stylistic changes are frequent, and very rarely to Corneille's advantage. In the first scene of Act II, for instance, Corneille retains more than faithfully the patois spoken by Pierrot and Charlotte, often giving a slight turn to the dialectical expressions used by Molière. Thus, Molière's "stapandant" (for "cependant") becomes, in the *Festin de Pierre*, "stanpandant." In *Don Juan*, we find Pierrot saying: "Je te dis toujou la même chose parce que c'est toujou la même chose; et si ce n'était pas toujou la même chose, je ne te dirai pas toujou la même chose." This excellent bit of rustic simplicity of phraseology is changed, to its detriment, in the *Festin de Pierre*, where we read:

*Pierrot:*

Si j'te la dis toujou, c'est toi qu'en es la cause;  
Et si tu me faisais queque fouas autrement,  
J'te diras autre chose.

The third act of *Don Juan* is freely rearranged by Corneille. The third scene, in which the debtor, M. Dimanche, appears to dun Don Juan, is placed, in the *Festin de Pierre*, after, and not before, the appearance of Don Luis, the father of Don Juan. Corneille is forced to improvise some lines of his own (scene 11) between the departure of M. Dimanche and the arrival of Done Elvire, who comes on unannounced. Molière, on the other hand, announces (scene 8) the arrival of a veiled lady (Done Elvire). Finally, Corneille makes more apparent the connection between the scene in which Don Luis hurls his objurgations at Don Juan and that which follows. In *Don Juan*, we read: "Mais sache, fils indigne, que la tendresse paternelle est poussée à bout par tes actions; que je

saurai . . . prévenir sur toi le courroux du ciel, et laver par ta punition la honte de t'avoir fait naître. (Scène 7—*Don Juan, Sganarelle.*) Don Juan (adressant encore la parole à son père, quoiqu'il soit sorti): Eh! mourez le plus tôt que vous pourrez, c'est le mieux que vous puissiez faire." In the *Festin de Pierre*, the version reads:

*Don Luis:*

C'est trop! Si jusqu'ici dans mon coeur, malgré moi,  
La tendresse de père a combattu pour toi,  
*Je l'étouffe; aussi bien, il est temps que . . .*  
Je préviens du ciel les justes châtiments;  
*J'en mourrai*, mais je dois mon bras à sa colère

[scène 6—*Don Juan, Sganarelle.*].

*Don Juan:*

*Mourez quand vous voudrez*, il ne m'importe guère.

Finally, in the last scene of Act IV, Corneille makes the statue of the Commander invite Don Juan to dine in the tomb of the former the same evening, whereas the Commander, in Molière, says: "Je vous invite à venir *demain* souper avec moi." The reason for this change is clear. In *Don Juan*, Molière disregards the three unities completely; each act takes place in a different setting, the time that elapses is certainly more than twenty-four hours, and the plot is hardly unified. Corneille, on the other hand, tries as far as possible to make the play conform to the three unities.

We have had, by now, more than sufficient opportunity to observe the closeness with which Corneille follows the text of the original. I wish to give one final parallel from the two plays, in order that we may be able to visualize this phenomenon by way of conclusion. In the sixth scene of Act III of *Don Juan*, we read:

*Sganarelle:* Seigneur Commandeur, mon maître, Don Juan, vous demandez si vous voulez lui faire l'honneur de venir souper avec lui. (La statue baisse la tête.) Ah!—*Don Juan:* Qu'est-ce? Qu'as-tu? Dis donc. Veux-tu parler?

In the *Festin de Pierre*, the same passage runs:

*Sganarelle:*

. . . Monsieur le Commandeur,  
Don Juan voudrait bien avoir chez lui l'honneur  
De vous faire un régal. Y viendrez-vous?

(La statue baisse la tête, et Sganarelle, tombant sur les genoux, s'écrie:  
"A l'aide!")

*Don Juan:*

*Qu'est-ce? Qu'as-tu? Dis donc.*

According to Gendarme de Bévotte, Corneille's emasculated version of Molière's play "fit fortune"; nevertheless, it did not long retain its popularity, and today the "administration" of the Comédie-Française deems it wise to leave *Don Juan* unproduced rather than to offer the public a milk-and-watery variant of the play which, perhaps more than any one other of his plays, is the document of Molière's ironic philosophy.<sup>1</sup>

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## QUEVEDO, GUEVARA, LE SAGE, AND THE *TATLER*

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The popularity of Spanish literature in England in the latter part of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century is well known. But although at least one man<sup>1</sup> has recognized that logically Lucian's "imaginary letters" and "detached observer" together with such works as Quevedo's *Sueños* (1627), and Le Sage's *Diable Boiteux* (1707), an adaptation and translation of Guevara's *Diablo Cojuelo* (1641), should have resulted in such creations as the *Tatler*, *Spectator*, and *Rambler*, no one apparently has hitherto made a comparative study of these Spanish and French writers and the aforementioned English periodicals.<sup>2</sup>

The object of this article is simply to point out certain parallels in thought, but rarely in words, between the *Tatler* and the Spanish and French writers named. Other Spanish writers and other English periodicals are left for later studies.

It should be recalled that Spanish picaresque literature was popular in England before and at the time of the publication of the first *Tatler*, April 12, 1709. For instance, by that date, L'Estrange's translation of Quevedo's *Sueños* had gone through at least twelve editions.<sup>3</sup> In 1707 Le Sage's *Diable Boiteux* had gone through four editions.<sup>4</sup> There was an English translation called *The Devil upon Two Sticks* in 1708.<sup>5</sup> Steele had certainly seen this translation, for in *Tatler* No. 11 he mentions it, and in a way which indicates that he expected his readers to know it. In his *Diable Boiteux* Le Sage called attention to the debt he owed Guevara and dedicated it to the

<sup>1</sup> Upham, *The Typical Forms of English Literature* (New York, 1917), pp. 128-29.

<sup>2</sup> A passing mention is made of Pacolet's relation to the *diable boiteux* of Le Sage in *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, IX, 39 (Harold Routh). Chandler, *Literature of Roguery*, II, 330, mentions in one paragraph the *Diablo Cojuelo* and the *Spectator*, but he does not connect the two works in the manner in which they are studied here. J. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *The Relations between Spanish and English Literature* (1910), p. 26, says: "The translation of Quevedo's *Sueños* made by Roger L'Estrange—through the French—ran into many editions, but left no permanent mark on English literature."

<sup>3</sup> See Chandler, *Romances of Roguery*, p. 457. See *ibid.*, pp. 399-469 for details on other translations of Spanish picaresque novels into English.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 464-65.

<sup>5</sup> Chandler, *Literature of Roguery*, II, 319.

Spaniard.<sup>1</sup> The *Diablo Cojuelo* had not been translated into English at that time, but the dedication of the French work forcibly called attention to the Spanish original, and men of the linguistic attainments of Addison and Steele would have had no difficulty in reading Spanish. That they probably did so, we shall see presently. It should be kept in mind also that the *Tatler* appeared three times a week, and that in all probability the writers of the paper read whatever was popular, not only for the ideas they might obtain, but also to keep informed about the subjects which pleased the public.

Our attention will be directed, first, to the idea of the power of the astrologer, the conjurer, etc., which is closely connected with Pacolet, who seems to be derived from the *Diablo Cojuelo* and the *Diable Boiteux*; secondly, to the similarity of certain visions in the *Tatler* and *Spectator* to some of the *Sueños* of Quevedo, and to certain passages in the *Diablo Cojuelo* and the *Diable Boiteux*; thirdly, to the "courts" of the *Tatler* and the *premáticas* and similar satirical scenes in the *Discursos festivos* of Quevedo; and finally, to the parallelism between the *Diablo Cojuelo*, the *Diable Boiteux*, and No. 243 of the *Tatler*, in which the devil is replaced by the "magical ring."

One is struck, on reading the earlier numbers of the *Tatler*, by the frequent references to necromantic power, to astrology, or to a familiar (see Nos. 1, 3, 12, 13, 14, 15, 20, 21, 22, 23, 26, 27, 28, 40, 47, 48, 61, 64, 71, etc.). While the sources of the passages referred to may not be Spanish, they strongly suggest the atmosphere of Quevedo's *Sueños*, Guevara's *Diablo Cojuelo*, and Le Sage's *Diable Boiteux*. Especially is this true of the episodes dealing with Pacolet, who, for a time at least, is Bickerstaff's guardian angel. Pacolet first appears in No. 13, where he tells Bickerstaff of his experiences with three former masters. (Recall that in No. 11 Steele mentions *The Devil upon Two Sticks*.) This conversation with Bickerstaff is merely a device to satirize these masters, and reminds one of Lazarillo de Tormes, and other Spanish picaresque characters, whose biographies are satires on the masters they have served. In No. 15 Pacolet describes the treatment he received as an infant, which caused his death when he was only a month old. These experiences recall one of Quevedo's *Sueños*; *El entremetido, y la dueña y el soplón* (B.A.E.,

<sup>1</sup> Edition Garnier Frères, Paris, n.d., pp. 386-87.

XXIII, 363), where a *demonio* describes the experiences he will have if he is born again. The description of the *demonio* begins before birth and continues until death. He mentions being whipped at school and the sufferings of being in love along with other disagreeable experiences of life. Pacolet says that by being drowned he "escaped being lashed into a linguist until sixteen, running after wenches until twenty-five, and being married to an ill-natured wife until sixty." His nose, he afterward learned, belonged to another family; the *demonio* suggests the possibility that he may not be legitimate, his nose is also characterized as an *alambique*, a still. In both cases the child hears a lullaby, has a wet nurse, and resents the treatment to which he is subjected. Also in both cases the speaker is a demon.<sup>1</sup>

Pacolet throws a powder around Bickerstaff and himself so that they may be invisible (No. 15; see *Diable Boiteux*, pp. 312-13); serves as a messenger to carry and obtain information (Nos. 22, 23, 26, 28, 40, 64, 70; *Diablo Cojuelo* [edit. Madrid, 1910] pp. 46-47); acts as a guide in visions (Nos. 81, 119, 167, 171) just as do the Spanish and French devils. Steele and Addison, possibly at the initial suggestion of Swift's Bickerstaff, began the necromantic elements in the astrologer Bickerstaff, but soon added (No. 13) Pacolet, who may have been borrowed from the *Diablo Cojuelo* or the *Diable Boiteux*, or both. Having read the English translation, *The Devil upon Two Sticks*, the essayists possibly read the *Diable Boiteux*, saw the dedication to Guevara, and then read the *Diablo Cojuelo*. This first venture into Spanish in the original was perhaps followed by reading Quevedo, who at the time was very popular in England. In addition to the translation of his *Sueños*, the translation of his *Comical Works* appeared in 1707, another edition in 1709,<sup>2</sup> and the translation of his *Marco Bruto*, as a document in behalf of Dr. Sacheverel, was printed during the latter's trial in 1710.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For a vague treatment of the same theme see Torres Naharro's *introito* of the "Comedia Jacinta," in *Propaladia*, II, 76-77; for a better treatment, see "La vida del hombre" of Breton de los Herreros, *Obra*, V, 323-46, especially 323-28.

<sup>2</sup> British Museum Catalog, Vol. XXIX.

<sup>3</sup> *The Controversy about Resistance and Non-resistance discuss'd, in moral and political reflections on Marcus Brutus, who slew Julius Caesar . . . written in Spanish by D[on] F[rancisco] de Q[uevedo] V[illegas], translated into English and published in defense of Dr. Henry Sacheverel, by order of a noble Lord who voted in his behalf* (London, 1710), British Museum Catalog, Vol. XXIX.

Other points of contact between Quevedo and the *Tatler* may be noted. No. 12 has a caustic comment on the use of slang. Quevedo frequently attacks incorrect or questionable use of words and phrases (*B.A.E.*, XXIII, 367, 371, 430-31). The description of a gentleman (No. 21), of a pretty fellow (No. 24), of the rake (No. 27), and of fops (No. 108) may have been suggested by the English "character," but it is paralleled in Quevedo's *Discurso festivos*; for instance, *figuras artificiales*, *figuras lindas*, etc. (*B.A.E.*, XXIII, 460 ff.) True, Quevedo's types are of the lower classes, while the *Tatler's* are of the better classes, but this is in keeping with the tone of the respective works.

Visions as a literary device to present certain ideas, especially satire, occur frequently in the *Tatler* and *Spectator*.<sup>1</sup> As is well known, and as Quevedo points out in one of his *Sueños* (*B.A.E.*, XXIII, 298a), visions were used by the classic authors and by Dante. The authors of the essays in the *Tatler* and *Spectator* were familiar with these examples of the use of visions, of course. But it can hardly be said without reflection on Addison and Steele that they were unacquainted with Quevedo's *Sueños*, the translation of which had been so popular before 1709. Certain parallels between Quevedo's *Sueños* and the visions of the *Tatler* and *Spectator* would seem to indicate that Addison at least did know the *Sueños* of Quevedo.

Curiously enough, the parts of Quevedo's *Sueños* paralleled by Addison in the *Tatler* and *Spectator* are omitted in the L'Estrange translation. (The copy I am using is of the edition of 1702.) It is probable that the editors of the *Tatler* and *Spectator* knew of these omissions from the L'Estrange translation, for Captain John Stevens, in his Preface to *The Comical Works of Quevedo*, published in London in 1707, says:

I will not say much of his [Quevedo's] Prose, his visions have already gain'd him a reputation: Tho with respect to the Memory of that great Man, whose name is prefixt to the Translation [L'Estrange had died in 1704], I must Declare, they are far short of the Original. For not to descend to other Particulars, there are in several places whole Pages entirely omitted, and in others, the Sense either mistaken or willfully alter'd to no Advantage, but rather for the worse.

<sup>1</sup> The visions of the *Spectator* are included in this study.

Captain Stevens' book was sold by John Morphew, who, as is well known, was the agent of the *Tatler*. See, for instance, Nos. 11, 56, 103.

In the *Tatler* No. 237 Addison reads Milton's *Paradise Lost*, where Ithuriel with his spear touches the toad which is trying to deceive Eve, and causes it to return to its proper shape, that of the devil. He then goes to sleep and dreams that he has the spear. This vision and the types satirized in it may be compared to Quevedo's *Sueños: El mundo por de dentro* (B.A.E., XXIII, 330b-31), in which a *cuerda* casts a shadow which reveals what the person really is when in the shadow, and *La hora de todos y la fortuna con seso* (B.A.E., XXIII, 384 ff.), where at a certain hour each becomes what he deserved to be. For purposes of comparison the English and the corresponding Spanish passages are given below.

#### *Tatler* No. 237

The first person that passed by me was a lady that had a particular shyness in the cast of her eye, and had more than ordinary reservedness in all parts of her behaviour. She seemed to look upon man as an obscene creature, with a certain scorn and fear of him. In the height of her airs I touched her lightly with my wand, when to my unspeakable surprise, she fell into such a manner as made me blush in my sleep.

#### *El mundo por de dentro*

The first person to pass under the *cuerda* was

Aquella mujer allí fuera estaba más compuesta que copla, más serena que la de la mar, con una honestad en los huesos, anublada de manto; entrando aquí ha desatado las coyunturas (mira de par en par); y por los ojos está disparando las entrañas a aquellos mancebos, y no deja descansar la lengua en ceceos, los ojos en guñaduras, las manos en tecleados de moño [B.A.E., XXIII, 330b-31a].

#### *Tatler* No. 237

. . . . My eyes were diverted from her by a man and his wife, who walked near me hand in hand after a very loving manner. I gave each of them a gentle tap, and in the next instant saw the woman in breeches, and the man with a fan in his hand.

#### *El mundo por de dentro*

¿Viste allá fuera aquel maridillo dar voces que hundia el barrio: "ciernen esa puerta, qué cosa es ventanas, no quiero coche, en mi casa me como, calle y pase, que así hago yo," y todo el séquito de la negra honra? Pues

mírale por debajo de la cuerda encarecer con sus desabrimientos los encierros de su mujer [B.A.E., XXIII, 331].

*Tatler* No. 237

It would be tedious to describe the long series of metamorphoses that I entertained myself with during my night's adventures.

*La hora de todos*, etc.

This *Sueño* has forty metamorphoses, and if Addison had it in mind when writing the essay in the *Tatler* he would probably recall many other changes that he had read in the Spanish.

Other parallels with the two *sueños* of Quevedo follow:

*Tatler* No. 100

In the "Vision of Justice"

A voice is heard from the clouds, declaring the intention of this visit, which was to return and appropriate to every one living what was his due.

*La hora de todos*

Quoting from Jupiter:

.... está decretado irrevocablemente que en el mundo .... se hallen de repente todos los hombres con lo que cada uno merece [B.A.E., XXIII, 385b].

*Tatler* No. 100

The next command was for .... all children "to repair to their true and natural fathers." .... It was a very melancholy spectacle to see fathers of very large families become childless, and bachelors undone by a charge of sons and daughters. .... This change of parentage would have caused great lamentation, but that the calamity was pretty common, and that generally that those who lost their children, had the satisfaction of seeing them put into the hands of their dearest friends.

*El mundo por de dentro*

¿Ves aquel bellaconazo que allí está vendiéndose por amigo de aquel hombre casado y arremetiéndose a hermano, que acude a sus enfermedades y a sus pleitos, y que le prestaba y le acompañaba? Pues mírale por debajo de la cuerda añadiéndole hijos y embarazos en la cabeza y trompicones en el pelo [B.A.E., XXIII, 331b].

Turning to the *Spectator*, the "Vision of Mirza" (No. 159) pictured a genius who, like the *diablo cojuelo* and the *diable boiteux*, carries the spectator to the highest point and shows him scenes and

people.<sup>1</sup> The spectator is carried "to the highest pinnacle of the rock," while the observer in the Spanish and French works is taken to the top of the tower of San Salvador. The "Vision of the Seasons" (*Spectator* No. 426) has a genius who explains the whole situation to the observer.

Another device common to Quevedo and the *Tatler* is the use of mock courts and edicts, in which the frailties and foibles of human nature are satirized. Quevedo calls certain people *incapaces de razón* (*B.A.E.*, XXIII, 442b). In the *Tatler* they are "dead in reason" (No. 110). The *Tatler* has "courts of honor" (Nos. 250, 253, 256, 259, 262, 265). These "courts" may be compared to the *premáticas* of Quevedo in their use of legal verbiage, mock seriousness, and frequent satire of the same type of thing. The following quotations will serve to illustrate the latter characteristic.

#### *Tatler* No. 110

The next class of criminals were authors in prose and verse. Those of them who had produced any still born work were immediately dismissed to their burial, and were followed by others, who, notwithstanding some sprightly issue in their life-time, had given proofs of their death by some posthumous children that bore no resemblance to their elder brethren. As for those of a mixed progeny, provided they could always prove the last to be a live child, they escaped with life, but not without the loss of limbs: for, in this case, I was satisfied with the amputation of the parts which were mortified.

#### *Premática* of *Tiempo*

Ítem, habiendo visto la multitud de poetas con varias sectas, que Dios ha permitido por el castigo de nuestros pecados, mandamos que se gasten los que hay, y que no haya más de aquí adelante, dando de término dos años para ello, so pena que procederá contra ellos como contra la langosta, conjurándolos, pues no basta otro remedio humano [*B.A.E.*, XXIII, 439a].

#### *Tatler* No. 110

These were followed by . . . . defunct statesmen; all of whom I ordered to be decimated indifferently. . . . .

#### *Premática*

Item, declaramos y desengaños a todos los reyes y señores deste mundo, que no piensen ser ellos los mayores de todos, porque solo lo es el

<sup>1</sup> *Diablo Cojuelo*, p. 14; *Diable Boiteux*, p. 14. Cf. temptation of Christ, Matt. 4:5, 8.

calor, . . . . delante de los reyes se cubren los grandes [B.A.E., XXIII, 439b].

*Tatler* No. 243 has a series of experiences which may be paralleled by scenes from the *Diablo Cojuelo* and the *Diable Boiteux*. Gyges' ring in the *Tatler* seems to play the rôle of the *diablo cojuelo* and the *diable boiteux* in their respective works. The quotations follow:

*Tatler*

About a week ago, not being able to sleep, I got up, and put on my magical ring; and, with a thought, transported myself into a chamber where I saw a light.

*Diablo Cojuelo* and *Diable Boiteux*

At the beginning of the *Diablo Cojuelo* (pp. 9-10) and at the beginning of the *Diable Boiteux* (2), the hero, to escape from a trap set for him by a courtesan, runs along the roofs of the houses until he sees a light, and enters the room where the light is.

*Tatler*

I found it inhabited by a celebrated beauty, though she is of that species of women we call a slattern. Her headdress and one of her shoes lay upon a chair, her petticoat in one corner of the room, and her girdle, that had a copy of verses made upon it but the day before, with her thread stockings, in the middle of the floor.

The author, shocked by what she says in her sleep, leaves the room.

*Diablo Cojuelo*

Pero, ¿ quién es aquel la Habada con camisa de muger que . . . . haze roncando mas ruido que la Bermuda . . . . [p. 17].

*Diable Boiteux*

J'aperçois dans la maison voisine deux tableaux assez plaisants: l'un est une coquette surannée qui se couche, après avoir laissé ses cheveux, ses sourcils et ses dents sur sa toilette: l'autre un galant sexagénaire qui revient de faire l'amour. Il a déjà ôté son oeil et sa moustache postiches, avec sa perruque, qui cachait une tête chauve (p. 17).

The second scene referred to in the French apparently suggested the next scene in the

*Tatler*

I left the apartment of this female rake, and went into her neighbor's, where there lay a male coquette. He had a bottle of salts hanging over his head, and upon the table by his bedside Suckling's poems, with a little

heap of black patches on it. His snuffbox was within reach on a chair; but, while I was admiring the disposition he made of the several parts of his dress, his slumber seemed interrupted by a pang that was accompanied by a sudden oath, as he turned himself over hastily in bed. I did not care for seeing him in his nocturnal pains, and left the room.

### *Diablo Cojuelo*

This same "male coquette" is to be found in the Spanish work:

Mira aquel preciado de lindo, o aquel lindo de los mas preciados, como duerme con vigotera, torcidas de papel en las gudejas y el copete, sebillo en las manos y guantes desacabeçados, y tanta pasa en el rostro, que pueden hacer colaciòn en él toda la quaresma que viene (16).

### *Tatler*

I was no sooner got into another bed-chamber, but I heard very harsh words uttered in a smooth, uniform tone. I was amazed to hear so great a volubility in reproach, and thought it too coherent to be spoken by one asleep; but, upon looking nearer, I saw the headdress of the person who spoke, which showed her to be a female, with a man lying by her side broad awake, and as quiet as a lamb. I could not but admire his exemplary patience, and discovered by his whole behaviour, that he was lying under the discipline of a curtain lecture.

### *Diable Boiteux*

... je découvre, dans un petit corps de logis, un original de mari qui s'endort tranquillement aux reproches que sa femme lui fait d'avoir passé la journée entière hors de chez lui (128).

Again referring to the same man:

il s'est ... mis au lit sans dire un mot [p. 135].

In the next paragraph the author says he was entertained in many other places by this kind of nocturnal eloquence, and mentions some of the things he sees people doing. If he had read these French and Spanish works, which contain other nocturnal scenes, he would be likely to recall similar scenes which he does not describe. The next picture in the *Tatler* is that of a very sick man, whose wife has the undertaker waiting for him to die that he may take him away. In the *Diable Boiteux* there is a description of an old man dying, surrounded by relatives who are impatiently waiting for his death that they may secure his property (pp. 204-5).

*Tatler*

As I was going home, I saw a light in a garret, and entering into it, heard a voice crying, *and, hand, stand, band, fanned, tanned*. I concluded him by this, and the furniture of his room, to be a lunatic; but upon listening a little longer, perceived it was a poet, writing a heroic upon the ensuing peace.

*Diablo Cojuelo and Diable Boiteux*

In the *Diablo Cojuelo* a poet arouses the guests of an inn by reciting his verses (pp. 37-39). The French version has the following passage:

... je ferais l'inventaire des meubles qui sont dans ce galetas. Il n'y a qu'un grabat, un placet et une table, et les murs me parraissent tout barbouillés de noir. Le personnage qui loge si haut est un poète, reprit Asmodée; et ce qui vous paraît noir, ce sont des vers tragiques de sa façon, dont il a tapissé sa chambre, étant obligé, faute de papier, d'écrire ses poèmes sur le mur (p. 21).

*Tatler*

It was now toward morning, an hour when spirits, witches, and conjurers are obliged to return to their apartments, and, feeling the influence of it, I was hastening home, when I saw a man had got half way into a neighbor's house. I immediately called to him, and turning my ring, appeared in my proper person. There is something magisterial in the aspect of the Bickerstaffs, which made him run away in confusion.

*Diablo Cojuelo and Diable Boiteux*

The Spanish work has a scene in which two thieves are entering a rich foreigner's house, but run away, greatly frightened, when they see him (p. 17). "Voleurs de nuit" are seen in the French work (p. 23).

The fact that every scene described in the English essay has a more or less exact parallel in the *Diablo Cojuelo* or its French version, the *Diable Boiteux*, and that the observers in every case were invisible, could go wherever they pleased, and went at night, would seem to rule out of court the theory of coincidence.<sup>1</sup>

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## OBSERVACIONES SOBRE LA COMEDIA TIDEA

La *Comedia Tidea* de Francisco de las Natas, publicada en 1550 y reimpressa por Cronan,<sup>1</sup> ofrece considerable interés por combinarse en ella el influjo de la *Celestina*, de las églogas de Juan del Encina y de las comedias de Torres Naharro.

Las noticias bibliográficas de esta comedia son bien escasas. Nicolás Antonio no menciona a Natas. Ninguna referencia a éste, o su comedia, hallamos hasta llegar a Moratín.<sup>2</sup> El último da la comedia por publicada en 1535, la titula *Fidea* llama a su autor Francisco de las Navas; cuyos tres errores recoje y copia el conde de Schack.<sup>3</sup> La Barrera<sup>4</sup> declara respecto del autor, sin el menor fundamento: "Su apellido parece burlesco, así como el título que se da en la pieza de "beneficiado en la iglesia perrochial (*sic*) de la villa Cuebas rubias, y en la iglesia de Sancta Cruz del lugar de Rebilla cabriada."<sup>5</sup> Afíade, por única noticia, que fué prohibida en los *Índices expurgatorios* de 1539 y 1583. La primera fecha es indudablemente errata de imprenta por 1559, pues el primer catálogo de este género, conteniendo libros heréticos impresos en Alemania, con algunas adiciones, no aparece hasta 1551, y *Comedia Tidea* se incluye en el *Index et Catalogus Librorum prohibitorum*, primero peninsular, publicado por el inquisidor general D. Fernando de Valdés el año 1559 en Valladolid, así como en el *Index* de 1583. Gallardo<sup>6</sup> cita una traducción de la *Eneida* hecha por Francisco de las Natas: "Siguese el segundo libro de las Eneidas de Virgilio, trobado en metro-mayor de nuestro romance castellano por Francisco de las Natas, clérigo presbítero beneficiado en la iglesia parroquial de Santo Tomé de la villa de Cuevas-rubias, y en la iglesia de Sancta-cruz del lugar de Revilla-Cabriada, de la diocesis de Burgos. (Al fin.) Fue impreso

<sup>1</sup> *Teatro español del siglo XVI* (Madrid, 1913), págs. 1-80.

<sup>2</sup> *Orígenes del teatro español*, en *Bibl. Aut. Esp.* (Madrid, 1846), t. II, pág. 193.

<sup>3</sup> *Historia, etc.* (ed. de Mier, Madrid, 1885), t. I, pág. 345.

<sup>4</sup> *Catálogo del teatro antiguo español* (Madrid, 1880), pág. 283.

<sup>5</sup> Claro está que *perrochial* no es burlesco, ni mucho menos requiere el *sic*, sino voz antigua que trae el Diccionario de Autoridades en la forma substantiva de *perrochia*, así como Covarrubias en su *Tesoro* con la variante ortográfica *perroquia*, y que se encuentra a menudo en las obras del siglo XVI.

<sup>6</sup> *Ensayo de una biblioteca española* (Madrid, 1888), t. III, columnas 951-52.

en Burgos por Juan de Junta, impresor de libros, a 3 de agosto de 1528 años.”<sup>1</sup> Menéndez y Pelayo<sup>2</sup> y Creizenach<sup>3</sup> le dedican media docena de líneas a *Comedia Tidea*, que parecen demostrar, aun siendo pocas, que ninguno de ellos tuvo ocasión de leerla.

Ni por razón del pensamiento o de la forma, es grande la poesía de esta comedia. La sintaxis aparece dislocada en unos pocos pasajes, pero en general la forma es correcta, y apropiada y natural la expresión de los afectos. El estilo es mediocre: ni resalta por el color y brío ni fatiga por frío y desmayado. Natas, fácil versificador, no es verdadero poeta, pero sí hombre de teatro, diestro en el manejo de los recursos dramáticos. La mayoría de sus contemporáneos fueron, por el contrario, buenos poetas y pésimos dramaturgos. La ejecución es tan acertada en la *Tidea* que bien merece figurar esta comedia, por su traza armónica, por su desarrollo regular, por su diálogo rápido y vivo, por su arte escénico, entre las más felices de nuestro primitivo teatro. La observación aguda, el modo impersonal del autor, su seguridad en los trazos, la sobriedad en el epíteto y la ausencia de toda nota excéntrica que rompa la naturalidad de los caracteres o la armonía del conjunto,<sup>4</sup> revelan una mentalidad lúcida y grave, rica en experiencia.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gallardo reproduce a continuación parte de la dedicatoria y varias estrofas.

<sup>2</sup> *Orígenes de la novela* (Madrid, 1910), t. III, pág. cxlix.

<sup>3</sup> *Geschichte des neueren Dramas* (Halle, 1903), t. III, pág. 158.

<sup>4</sup> Es digno de nota, en este punto, la absoluta ausencia de pedanterías humanísticas, de referencias históricas y mitológicas, de que tan recargadas se hallan todas las producciones dramáticas de aquel siglo—y del siguiente—with the sola excepción acaso de las de Torres Naharro, cuyo buen gusto nuestro autor sigue también en esto. En lo que se aparta de él, y en lo que estriba la capital diferencia en cuanto a la forma entre su comedia y la *Celestina*—nuestro más rico tesoro de refranes, sin excluir el *Quijote*—es en no traer *Comedia Tidea* ni siquiera un solo refrán.

<sup>5</sup> Si hemos de juzgar por la dedicatoria de su traducción de la *Eneida*, por las copias en que el traductor se despidió del lector, y por el absoluto silencio queacerca de él guardan sus coetáneos, no era Francisco de las Natas un profesional de las letras, sino aficionado que en ellas ocupaba su pluma en los ratos de ocio. En la dedicatoria, al abad de Berlanga y de Cuevas Rubias, consigna: “... Yo, señor, como los días pasados estuviese vacío de algún ejercicio, acorde ocupar mi rudo ingenio en algun acto virtuoso ... y fue en esta obra ...” Y en las copias de despedida expresa:

“Si silaba falta según que verdad  
Aquesto repugna por límite llano  
Allende si sobra por mas de lo sano,  
*Ad sensum* y verso suplicios mirad.  
Tambien si les falta la sonoridad  
Porque esta se pide por orden directo.  
Cualquier mas sciente según que discreto  
Aquesto corrija con gran igualdad.  
“Que en esto mi fuerza se halla tan baja  
Que mas no penetra por sumos labores,  
Ni menos se empinan mis sensus actores  
Por vellos tan brozños según que la saxa.  
Y aquesto si hice, sentido sin baraja  
Que no fue por fama ni gloria tomar,  
Son ver mi sentido que pueda domar,  
Que al nino muy rudo le cedo ventaja. ... ”

El sistema dramático de Francisco de las Natas es el mismo de Torres Naharro, al que sigue en todo con el mayor celo. Natas da por título a su comedia el nombre del protagonista, Tideo, llamándola *Comedia Tidea*, como de los protagonistas de sus piezas dramáticas había sacado Torres Naharro los títulos de *Comedia Aquilana*, *Comedia Himenea*, etc. Torres Naharro había dicho en el *prohemio* de la *Propaladia*:<sup>1</sup> "La division della [la comedia] en cinco actos, no solamente me paresce buena, pero mucho necesaria; aunque yo les llame *jornadas*, porque más me parecen descansaderos que otra cosa." Y Natas le sigue igualmente en la división y nombre de los actos. Había declarado el maestro: "El número de las personas que se han de introducir, es mi voto que no deben ser tan pocas que parezca la fiesta sorda, ni tantas que engendren confusión ... el honesto número me paresce que sea de seis hasta doce personas."<sup>2</sup> Y once es el número de los interlocutores que figuran en la *Comedia Tidea*. Esta empieza, como todas las de Torres Naharro, con un introito, aunque considerablemente más breve, puesto en labios de un rústico y desvergonzado pastor que manifiesta sus habilidades, saca a colación sus nada ejemplares amoríos y, tras las acostumbradas chocarrerías, expone el argumento de la comedia y termina solicitando el silencio y compostura de la audiencia.

Aparece luego Tideo, el galán lamentándose del amor en unos versos, cuya naturalidad y transparencia, excepto en dos o tres líneas, aumenta el metro—coplas de pie quebrado, que es el de toda la comedia, y el mismo de Torres Naharro—, y los cuales principian así:

*Circundederunt me,  
dolores de amor y fe;  
ay! circundederunt me.  
Cercaronme de tal arte  
las passions del amor  
que la vida se me parte  
muy agena de fauor.  
O amor!  
O que profundo dolor!  
O que furia tan crescida,  
que imprime tu valor  
al que sigue tu guardia! ...*

<sup>1</sup> Edición de Cafete y Menéndez y Pelayo (Madrid, 1880-1900), t. I, pág. 9.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pág. 10.

Léese en el *Invitatorium de la Egloga de Plácida y Vitoriano*, de Juan del Encina<sup>1</sup> los mismos tres primeros versos, recitados por Vitoriano:

Circumdederunt me  
Dolores de amor y fe;  
*i Ay! circumdederunt me ...*

Y sigue una lamentación de amor cuyo modo de expresión no guarda ninguna analogía verbal con la de Tideo, aunque los sentimientos, por ser universales, habían de corresponder. Por lo demás no señalo aquellos tres versos como un plagio de Francisco de las Natas, sino como muestra de su conocimiento de la labor de Encina y del influjo más o menos manifiesto del último. Encantaronle a Natas, como a todos nos encantan, aquellas hermosas coplas del *Invitatorium* que rematan siempre con el estribillo *i Ay! circumdederunt me* como eco funeral del corazón angustiado, y lo tomó para encabezar su queja amorosa, a modo del que glosa, pero cuidando poner los tres versos en letra bastardilla, como hace cualquier autor que cita la frase de otro.

Tideo, como el Calisto de la *Celestina*, confiesa su dulce dolencia al criado, y éste, cual Sempronio a Calisto, le propone valerse de una "vieja barbuda" que en ambas obras vive en la vecindad. La tal vieja, Beroe, ejerce los mismos famosos oficios de la *Celestina*: labrandera, perfumera, falsificadora de la virtud femenina por excelencia, hechicera y alcahueta; beata, codiciosa y bebedora también lo es, y en ella al igual que en su prototipo han clavado las garras los siete pecados capitales. Y así puede Tideo repetir justamente el mismo concepto que ya había expresado Melibea, en la *Celestina*: "No me maravillo, que vn solo maestro de vicios dizen que basta para corromper vn gran pueblo."<sup>2</sup> Y Tideo dirá

que vna tal  
hazer puede tanto mal,  
so color de piedad  
y ser causa muy final  
destruir vna ciudad.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Teatro completo de Juan del Encina* (Madrid, 1893), pág. 326.

<sup>2</sup> *La Celestina* (ed. de Cejador, Madrid, 1913), t. I, pág. 184.

Jornada I, pág. 26 de la ed. de Cronan.

Grande es la semejanza entre ambas obras desde el momento en que Beroe se presenta en escena, cuando Prudente interrumpe la conversación con su señor exclamando tan expresivamente que nos parece ver como entra la vieja en escena:

hela, hela, do assoma  
su rosario muy colgado ...

La entrada de la vieja celestinesca, hablando consigo misma, lo que dice y el modo de decirlo, su mezcla de preces y diabloscos conceptos, lo bien caracterizada, en fin, que queda desde el primer instante, constituyen acaso el mayor acierto de la comedia; y en todo caso, el más fino análisis de un carácter. No puede ser este tipo de Celestina más justamente concebido ni más sobria y apropiadamente presentado que en el siguiente monólogo:

*Aue Maria, gracia plena;  
Dominus tecum, señora;  
no mirays que buena estrena  
para lunes en buen hora;  
benedicta tu,  
hora veys que tu por tu  
me trataua la bouilla,  
pues ventris tui Jesu,  
tu vernas, doña loquilla;  
sancta Maria,  
tu, madre de Dios, me guia  
aqueste mi buen viaje,  
que aunque alcagueteria,  
passos son de romeraje.*

*Quiero ver  
que me encargaron ayer  
los que tengo por sumario;  
ya me acuerdo que he de her  
sin mirar mi calendario.*

*Vn galan  
en la calle de sant Juan,  
ya me acuerdo donde dixo,  
este me dio vn balandran,  
mas dara delo que trixo;  
y tambien  
aquestotro, ya se quien,  
que hable a Marifilla,  
y Perucho de setien  
aquelotra Isabelilla.*

El sacristan,  
 el cura y el capitán,  
 me rogaron ayer tarde  
 que me acuerde de como estan  
 muy pobres de nueua carne;  
 que andada!  
 estos no me dieron nada;  
 mas dexame hora her,  
 no porne yo mi jornada  
 sino pagan mi texer;  
 pero andar,  
 algo quiero procurar  
 porque buelua descansada,  
 porque quando mi yantar  
 algo quede reposada.

Por agora  
 yre por Nuestra Señora  
 ala fuente (h)a me sentar,  
 que alli vienen a tal hora  
 las loquillas a parlar;  
 quando no,  
 tornare muy presto do  
 sera bueno mi camino.  
 Digo que tornare yo  
 do me harte de buen vino.  
 que alegra  
 y abiuia los pies y quiebra  
 toda mala voluntad,  
 toda la passion arriedra,  
 es liquor de gran bondad,  
 yan xarabe,  
 quel medico bien sabe  
 apazible con mis dias  
 vn açumbre que dessabe  
 estas secas de enzinas.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Las tres primeras copias de tal monólogo fueron las que motivaron, sin duda, que fuese incluida esta comedia en los *Indices expurgatorios*. Las dos puyas clericales que la comedia contiene (versos 524 y 582) eran lugares comunes en aquel siglo del erasmismo, que a nadie asustaban ni ponían de malhumor y que la Inquisición dejaba pasar, así como las rocinadas carnales del pastor del introito. Pero cosa de mayor gravedad debía de parecerle a aquella la nada reverente mezcla de lo divino con lo más abyecto de lo humano, en dichas copias.

Acércase Tideo a ella y, como Calisto a la Celestina, háblale con extremado elogio y reverencia:

*Tideo:*

Madre mia,  
o que ayre y que alegría!  
o que disposicion y tez!  
En verdad que yo diria  
que nunca viste la vejez.

*Calisto:* ... ¡O vejez virtuosa! ¡O virtud enuejecida! ¡O gloriosa esperanza de mi desseado fin! ...<sup>1</sup>

Con notable efecto cómico, en *Comedia Tidea*, al igual que en la *Celestina*, el enamorado galán cae de rodillas ante la barbuda terceraona, implorando su ayuda y buena voluntad. Naturalmente quedan ambas concedidas. Es de tener en cuenta que Beroe, cual Celestina, había residido en otro tiempo en el mismo barrio de la dama que desean seducir. Y por ello, al presentarse la primera en casa de Faustina, la heroína, y la segunda en casa de Melibea, son acogidas con idéntica pregunta:

*Faustina:*

... qual Dios te traxo aca  
por estos barrios estrafios?<sup>2</sup>

*Lucrecia:* ... ¡Qual Dios te traxo por estos barrios no acostumbrados.<sup>3</sup>

A tal pregunta, Beroe responde:

Hija mia, necessida  
que me acrece con los afios;  
vn hilado  
traygo y vendo muy delgado ...

Y la Celestina:

... E tambien, como a las viejas nunca nos fallecen necessidades ...  
ando a vender vn poco hilado.

<sup>1</sup> Ed. citada, t. I, pág. 91.

<sup>2</sup> Jornada III.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. citada, t. I, pág. 159.

Entrambas viejas prorrumpen en encendidas alabanzas:

*Beroe:*

O mi rosa,  
O mi perla muy preciosa!  
O ymaguen singular!  
En mi fe vengo ganosa  
por quererte abraçar!

*Celestina:* ¡O angélica ymaguen! ¡O perla preciosa, e como te lo dizes!  
Gozo me toma en verte fablar.

Después de quedar solas, Celestina con Melibea, Beroe con Faustina, declaranles que el objeto de su visita no es precisamente el hilado, mas antes de manifestarles el verdadero, tratan de captarse las simpatías de las doncellas con alabanzas, y atenuar así la posible tormenta de su indignación:

*Beroe:*

Con aquesso que te oy,  
mi señora, escucha:  
gentil dama,  
tu gran linage y fama,  
tus virtudes y prudencia  
el sentido me derrama,  
que no vse su potencia  
del hablar ...

*Celestina:* ¡Donzella graciosa e de alto linaje!, tu suave fabla e alegre gesto, junto con el aparejo de liberalidad, que muestras con esta pobre vieja, me dan osadia a te lo dezir.<sup>1</sup>

Los términos vagos, deliberadamente ambiguos, que las dos trotaconventos emplean antes de exponer resueltamente su embajada causan confusión, aunque no recelo, en el ánimo de las damas:

*Faustina:*

Tu razon  
me pone tal confusion,  
que me tiene muy turbada;  
di, madre, tu peticion;  
tenla ya por otorgada.

*Melibea:* Vieja honrrada, no te entiendo, si más no declaras tu demanda. Por vna parte me alteras e provocas a enojo; por otra me mueues a compasion. ... Assí que no cesses tu petición por empacho ni temor.

<sup>1</sup> Ed. citada, t. I, pág. 174.

No bien han acabado de declarar ambas Celestinas su pensamiento, cuando las doncellas les replican con la más profunda y agresiva indignación, amenazándolas coléricas, calificándolas allí y aquí de *alcahuetas, hechizeras, enemigas de honestidad, maluadas, etc.*, así como de *locos y nescios* a los galanes que las envían,

si penso

este dia que me vio  
labrando a mi ventana,  
quel campo por el quedo  
con su platica liuiana,

dice Faustina, como ya había dicho Melibea:

si pensó que ya era todo suyo e quedaba por él el campo.<sup>1</sup>

A sus amenazas de muerte, mientras dura la tormenta, las astutas maestras del vicio no replican sino entre dientes.

*Faustina:*

... habla claro, haldarrona;  
di, que parlas entre dientes ?

*Melibea:* ¡Avn hablas entre dientes, delante de mi ? ...<sup>2</sup>

Beroe, como Celestina, se disculpa en ser sólo mensajera :

*Beroe:*

... que la pena no obliga  
al correo o mensajero,  
como a mi  
que mandada vine aqui ...

*Celestina:* ... E si el otro yerro ha fecho, no redunde en mi daño, pues no tengo otra culpa, sino ser mensajera del culpado.<sup>3</sup>

Las doncellas, como sangre joven y ardorosa encendida por la ofensa, prosiguen hablando rápidas, centelleantes. Las Celestinas ni se amilanán por ello ni pierden su confianza en la victoria final.

*Beroe* (Aparte):

Como esta hecha Boecio  
la loquilla! como pugna!  
no soyis hija del gran Decio;  
que lo fueras no repugna,  
que otras mas  
han seguido tal compas,  
hijas de grandes señores.

*Celestina* (Aparte): ¡Mas fuerte estaua Troya e avn otras mas bravas  
he yo amansado! ...

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pág. 180.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pág. 178.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pág. 182.

Las oportunas y sapientísimas alcahuetas hacen, en ocasión propicia, la alabanza del amor y el elogio de los galanes, pintándoles llenos de *gracia, valor, hermosura, gentileza*, etc. Finalmente, en la primera entrevista Beroe, y Celestina en la segunda, logran de las damas una cita, para aquéllos, a las doce de la noche.

En la jornada segunda vemos también claramente el influjo de Encina. Dos pastores, Menalcas y Damon, al servicio de Rifeo, padre de la protagonista, refieren las burlas y tundas de que acaban de ser objeto a manos de los mozos del pueblo; en particular Damon ha sido fieramente repelado, manteado y soplado con un fuelle en salva sea la parte por los escolares, en la plaza del mercado. Los rasgos de los personajes, su lenguaje y la situación recuerdan vivamente el *Auto del Repelón* de Juan del Encina. Esta escena de los pastores la usa el autor para dar la nota ligera y festiva. Falto de verdadero y fecundo ingenio humorístico, Natas recurre a la estereotipadas chocarrerías de los pastores, cuyo solo lenguaje y actitud hacia la gente de la ciudad bastaba para causar seguro efecto cómico en una audiencia. Lo jocoso no era el fuerte de nuestro autor. Ni un solo rasgo de jovialidad y gracia tiene la comedia, aparte las bufonadas de los pastores. Y esto, a pesar de que el coloquio entre Prudente y Fileno, criados de Tideo, y en otros pasajes, la fina ironía propia de un ingenio perspicaz y analítico, como Torres Naharro por ejemplo, hubiera tenido apropiada ocasión de ejercitarse.

El humorismo de Francisco de las Natas es el mismo de Encina, bien distinto del humorismo de Torres Naharro. En las obras de aquéllos hay exageración; en las de éste, interpretación. Allí campea el rudo humor de los pastores; aquí, la fina crítica de los criados. Los primeros se proponen hacernos reir; el último, aun por boca de los pastores del introito en ocasiones, hacernos pensar, acaso enmendarnos. Es un humorismo de superior categoría porque es más honda la observación, y más universal; detrás de los chistes y sátiras del autor de la *Propaladia* hay una filosofía moral, un sentido ético, una personalidad. En el humorismo de Encina y Natas no hay ningún propósito hondo, y por eso pueden arrancarnos la carcajada, pero sin rozarnos el alma ni prendernos en ella la simpatía: es el genio de las cosquillas. ¡Cuán superior en esto, y en todo, le es a

ellos y le es a todos sus contemporáneos e inmediatos sucesores, incluso Lope de Rueda, el insigne Torres Naharro!

Por lo demás, la escena de los pastores encaja bien en la comedia, y no cabe considerarla a modo de paso, porque, a parte su brevedad, está enlazada con el desarrollo del asunto principal: la soberana tunda que los pastores han recibido es lo que les hace esconderse, temerosos, al ver aparecer a los criados de Tideo, y así presencian las idas y venidas de unos y otros, escuchan los planes para la fuga de Faustina con Tideo, y pueden avisar al padre de aquélla, contribuyendo al desenlace de la comedia.

El debate sobre el amor que, a continuación de dicha escena, mantienen Fileno y Prudente, criados de Tideo, recuerda en sus conceptos lo que sobre el poder del travieso y fulminante diosecillo dicen Mingo, en la *Egloga* de Encina que empieza “¡Ha Mingo! ¿quedaste atrás?,”<sup>1</sup> y el personaje alegórico Amor, en la *Representación en honor del Príncipe D. Juan*.<sup>2</sup> Mas no insistimos en ello; este terreno de las imitaciones es resbaladizo, y tan a menudo han dado por él de cabeza los críticos de nuestra literatura, tomando las más leves y naturales coincidencias de dos autores por imitación o por plagio, que de no ser clara y palmaria la imitación, es criterio de sensatez y justicia suponer sólo una coincidencia de inspiración. Además, en tema tan universal como el amor, cuya gama de sentimientos, siéndonos a todos conocida, ha de inspirar conceptos parecidos, cabría probar que los escritores no han hecho sino repetir con variantes lo que escribió el primero que sobre el amor escribiera; cabe probar que Natas ha dicho lo mismo que Encina, y éste lo mismo que los poetas de los Cancioneros, que a su vez repitieron lo dicho por el Arcipreste de Hita, como éste lo dicho por Ovidio, y retroceder en la cadena y concluir falsamente que *ab uno disce omnes*.

En *Comedia Tidea*, como en *Comedia Aquilana* de Torres Naharro, el enamorado galán resulta ser, si no príncipe, un gran señor, que oculta su verdadera calidad. Y cuando sorprendidos los amantes en el momento de la fuga, puesto él en prisión, restituida ella al hogar paterno, uno de los criados de Tideo se ve obligado a declarar la condición de su amo, la escena es muy semejante a la correspondiente de

<sup>1</sup> *Teatro, etc.*, pág. 119.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, págs. 161-62.

*Comedia Aquilana.* El desenlace, con el matrimonio de los amantes, y a gusto de todos, es el mismo en una y otra comedia, ajustada la obra de Natas en esto, como en todo lo demás, al patrón que Torres Naharro había dado en su proemio de que la comedia es “artificio ingenioso de notables y finalmente alegres acontecimientos.”

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## DOES EMILIA LOVE THE PRINCE?

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In 1841, seventy years after *Emilia Galotti* appeared, Riemer published his *Mitteilungen über Goethe*. This work contains a random remark of Goethe's on Lessing's tragedy, which is as follows:

The fundamental mistake of this piece is that it is nowhere expressed that Emilia loves the Prince, but that it is merely hinted at. If that were the case (that is, if Lessing had clearly indicated that Emilia loved the Prince), we should then know why the father kills her. Her love is indeed suggested, first in the way in which she listens to the Prince and then by the way in which she afterwards rushes into the room; for if she did not love him, she would have repulsed him; finally it is also expressed, but clumsily, by her fear of the Chancellor's house. For either she is a goose to be afraid, or a loose woman. But if she loves him, she must prefer to ask for death itself, in order to escape that house.<sup>1</sup>

Goethe was the first to suggest that Emilia loves the Prince, although the drama had been a bone of contention for the critics ever since its appearance. But no sooner did Goethe point the way than a host of critics took up the hint and wrote elaborate articles and commentaries to prove Emilia's love for the Prince. Does it not seem strange, however, that this universally known tragedy of the great master of dramatic art should have had to wait nearly three-quarters of a century for its right interpretation!

And yet, Lessing was not one of those authors who believe in hiding anything from the reader. He says in the Forty-eighth Paper of his "Hamburgische Dramaturgie":

I by no means agree with most of the writers on dramatic art that the development of a play should be hidden from the spectator. I rather think that it would not be an overrating of my powers if I set myself to write a play whose development reveals itself in the very first scenes and whose most sustained interest arises from this very circumstance. For the spectator everything must be clear.

Lessing wrote this while he was working on *Emilia Galotti*, and therefore it seems highly probable that, had he intended to portray

<sup>1</sup> Riemer's *Mitteilungen über Goethe*, II, 663. Translation by Professor Max Winkler in his Introduction to *Emilia Galotti*, Heath & Co., p. xx.

Emilia as being in love with the Prince, he would have done it in such a way that there would have been no room for misunderstanding, and the drama would not have had to wait for seventy years for its true meaning to be discovered. Whatever faults Lessing may have had, he was never obscure or ambiguous. Everything he wrote was always clear and to the point. Over and over again he repeats: "For the spectator everything must be clear." *Emilia Galotti* especially is his maturest dramatic production, the work of his strongest critical and creative faculties, and it is consequently one of the most carefully constructed plays in the whole range of modern literature. Lessing worked upon it, off and on, for fifteen years and considered and reconsidered every minutest detail. "Never," one critic writes, "was such a piece of dramatic algebra put on the boards as is *Emilia Galotti*. Every line, almost every word, betrays calculation on the part of the author."<sup>1</sup> Lessing wrote it with the direct intention of giving a model drama to the German people and of exemplifying the high standards which he had established in his critical writings, especially in his *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*. Accordingly, when Goethe complains that the fundamental mistake of the piece is that it is nowhere expressed that Emilia loves the Prince, it must be said that Lessing could hardly be blamed for not expressing what was not felt.

In a letter to his brother, Lessing himself indirectly characterized Emilia. "The maidenly heroines and philosophers," he said, "are not at all to my taste. . . . I know of no higher virtues in an unmarried girl than piety and obedience."<sup>2</sup> It is these virtues of piety and obedience that are the most essential traits of her character. They are fully manifest in her first appearance upon the stage. She shows herself as possessing a childlike pious heart, being intensely religious, and loving her parents with the deepest affection.

Emilia is the daughter of higher middle-class parents. "By nature she takes after her father rather than her mother, and it is he who had the greatest influence upon the development of her moral character. It was he who inculcated into her those severe lessons of virtue, that distrust of things worldly and that proud disdain for

<sup>1</sup> C. von Klenze, *Modern Language Notes*, IX (1894), 427.

<sup>2</sup> *Lessing's Works*, Hempel ed., xxi, 482-83.

life itself when honor is at stake, which determine her action in the most tragic moments of her life."<sup>1</sup> Of her almost divine beauty we get ample evidence in the scene between the Prince and the painter, Conti. Up to her early womanhood she lives in the simplicity and retirement of country life. To further her education she goes with her mother to the capital town. Her father, however, has an instinctive dislike for the city life and the court, where servility, flattery, and licentiousness prevail.

In the capital Emilia meets Count Appiani, a man of sterling character, and they become engaged. One evening at a gathering at the house of Chancellor Grimaldi she also meets the reigning Prince, a thoroughly unscrupulous and depraved tyrant, a splendid example of those scourges with which many of the smaller states of Germany were afflicted in the eighteenth century. He falls in love with her, and from the opening scenes we learn that he soon forgets his former mistress, and that he is thinking only of how to obtain Emilia. And so on her wedding day, while praying at church, she hears someone confessing love to her. Turning round she finds that it is the Prince himself. "Mute, trembling, and abashed, she stood before me," the Prince tells Marinelli, "like a criminal who hears the judge's fatal sentence. Her terror was infectious. I trembled also and concluded by imploring her forgiveness."<sup>2</sup> Frightened and indignant she flees from church as if pursued by furies. She rushes into her mother's arms exclaiming: "Heaven be praised! I am now in safety." Her mother, too, is frightened looking at her. "What has happened to you, my daughter? And you look so wildly round, and tremble in every limb." With difficulty Emilia tells her mother of her experience at church. And then,

As I turned, as I beheld him—

*Claudia:* Whom, my child?

*Emilia:* Guess, mother, guess! I thought I should sink into the earth. It was he himself.

*Claudia:* Who, himself?

*Emilia:* The Prince.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Max Winkler, Introduction to *Emilia Galotti*, Heath & Co., p. xx.

<sup>2</sup> *Emilia Galotti*, III, iii.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, II, vi.

And it is this fear and confusion of Emilia that is interpreted into love for the Prince! It is especially this "he himself" that the critics take as proof that she has the Prince constantly in mind because she loves him. But why not take a simple thing simply? Is it not more natural that her fear and confusion are due to her extreme youth and inexperience, to the suddenness of it all, to the religious and moral shock that she, the affianced of another, should on her wedding day be obliged to listen to a sinful confession of licentious love from the lips of no less a person than the Prince himself, the despotic ruler of the land, the hated and despised enemy of both her father and her lover? Why not take the Prince's own words of her attitude toward his love professions? "With all my flattery, with all my entreaties I could not extract one word from her. Mute, trembling, and abashed, she stood before me like a criminal who hears the judge's fatal sentence." By "he himself" she does not mean the Prince as her lover, but the Prince she met at the gay and frivolous house of the Chancellor, the depraved, autocratic tyrant who does what he pleases. Such a man could not inspire anything but contempt in a woman like Emilia. She must have realized the Prince's intention to make her but another of his mistresses.<sup>1</sup>

Emilia is determined to tell Appiani everything that happened in the church. "The Count must know everything. To him I must tell all." But her mother advises her not to, nay, pleads with her. And Emilia is not "almost glad to follow her mother's advice," as Professor Max Winkler and others would have us believe, but only very reluctantly she obeys her mother because it is her mother's wish. "You know, dear mother, how willingly I ever submit to your superior judgment. . . . And yet I would rather not conceal anything from him." "Weakness! Fond weakness!" her mother exclaims. "No, on no account, my daughter! Tell him nothing.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Marinelli's remarks regarding the approaching marriage of Emilia and Count Appiani. "A girl without fortune or rank has managed to catch him in her snares. . . . He will retire with his spouse to his native valleys of Piedmont and indulge himself in hunting chamois or training marmots upon the Alps. What can he do better? Here his prospects are blighted by the connection he has formed. The first circles are closed against him." I, vi. Countess Orsina tells Emilia's father: "I am Orsina, the deluded, forsaken Orsina—perhaps forsaken only for your daughter. But how is she to blame? Soon she also will be forsaken; then another, another, and another." IV, viii. At the very time the Prince is infatuated with Emilia, arrangements are being made for his approaching marriage with the Princess of Massa.

Let him observe nothing." And finally Emilia consents. "Well, then, I submit. I have no will, dear mother, opposed to yours."<sup>1</sup> Thus it is against the voice of her own heart that she agrees not to tell Appiani of her experience at the church.

Her mother tells her furthermore that she has taken the whole matter altogether too seriously, that the Prince's so-called love protestations are nothing but mere gallantries. "The Prince is a gallant," she tells her, "and you are too little used to the unmeaning language of gallantry. And thus in your mind a civility becomes an emotion—a compliment, a declaration—an idea, a wish—a wish, a design. A mere nothing, in this language, sounds like everything, while everything sounds like nothing." To which Emilia joyfully exclaims: "Oh, dear mother, I must have been completely ridiculous with my terror! Now my good Appiani shall know nothing of it. He might, perhaps, think me more vain than virtuous."<sup>2</sup>

Now, if Emilia had the slightest love for the Prince, she would not have been made so happy by her mother's assurances that the Prince was not serious, that his utterances to her were mere gallantries signifying nothing. On the contrary, according to all laws of human nature, such assurances would have disappointed her painfully. It is hard to believe that Lessing could be guilty of overlooking such an essential trait of human nature. This alone should be complete and convincing proof that Emilia does not love the Prince, and that any such supposition is entirely contrary to the author's conception of the play and the character of Emilia.

After the attack by the bandits Emilia is taken to the Prince's summer place. As soon as she learns where she is, the whole bitter truth dawns upon her. "That the Count is dead! And why is he dead! Why!"<sup>3</sup> Her father tells her that he is not permitted to take her with him, and that she will be taken by the Prince to the house of the Chancellor Grimaldi. But to that house she will not go. She is no longer the weak child listening to her mother's advice against her own inclinations. She will no longer compromise. The day's experience has changed the inexperienced, timid young girl into a strong and determined woman. She will rather die than remain with the Prince or go to Chancellor Grimaldi's house. Thus her mother

<sup>1</sup> *Emilia Galotti*, II. vi.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, V. vii.

aptly says of her: "She is the most timid, yet the most resolute of her sex; incapable of mastering her first impressions, but upon the least reflection she is calm and prepared for everything."<sup>1</sup>

This determination to die rather than to go to the Chancellor's house convinces her father that she is absolutely innocent. It will be remembered that his confidence was somewhat shaken by Countess Orsina. He is now again convinced that her innocence is safe and above all force. "But not above all seduction," she replies.

Force! Force! What is force? Who may not defy force? What you call force is nothing. Seduction is the only real force. I have blood, my father, as youthful and as warm as any other girl. My senses too are senses. I will answer for nothing. I will guarantee nothing. I know the house of Grimaldi. It is a house of revelry. One hour spent in that house under the protection of my mother, and there arose in my soul a tumult which all the rigid discipline of religion could not easily quell in whole weeks. Religion! and what religion? To avoid no worse snares thousands have leapt into the waves and now are saints. Give me the dagger, then, my father, give it to me.<sup>2</sup>

It is Emilia's fear of the Chancellor's house that is also cited by the critics from Goethe down to the present as supreme proof that she loves the Prince. First the critics take for granted her love for the Prince to explain this passage; then they use the passage to prove her love for the Prince. Such arguing in a circle has no value.<sup>3</sup>

Emilia is afraid of the Chancellor's house not because she loves the Prince, but because "it is the house of revelry." It was in that house that she first came into contact with the gay and frivolous world which conflicted so strongly with her moral and religious principles, and it cost her a severe effort to overcome its seductive influence. After what has happened this day, to go back to that house seems to her nothing less than the loss of her salvation. It is this fear that animates her soul, and not any love for the Prince. "To avoid no worse snares thousands have leapt into the waves, and now

<sup>1</sup> *Emilia Galotti*, IV, viii.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, V, vii.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Kuno Fischer, *Lessing als Reformator der deutschen Literatur* (Stuttgart, 1881), p. 210. Fischer, Dünzter, and Stahr do not believe that Emilia loves the Prince.

are saints." In her voluntary death, alone, she sees the possibility of escaping from eternal damnation, and hence it becomes for her a religious duty.

Another argument used by the critics to prove Emilia's love for the Prince is Lessing's conception of tragic characters. In his *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*, Lessing accords with Aristotle's dramatic theory that the tragedy must rouse in us pity and fear, and for that reason the hero or heroine must be neither a faultless character nor a thorough villain. In the Eighty-second Paper of the *Dramaturgie*, he writes: "The wholly unmerited misfortune of a virtuous man, according to Aristotle, is not fit material for a tragedy, because it is terrible." And again, "A man may be very good and yet have more than one weak point, commit more than one mistake through which he throws himself into immeasurable misfortune which excites our pity and sorrow, but which is not in the least horrible, because it is the natural result of his mistake." And emphatically he repeats the statement, "We must not let any perfect man suffer in a tragedy without any fault on his part, for this is too terrible." This required weakness or fault the critics point out to be in Emilia's case her love for the Prince.

Of course, Emilia has her weakness or fault as required by Lessing's theory of tragic characters. But it is not her love for the Prince. It is the fact that she allowed herself, against her own feelings, to be influenced by her mother not to tell Appiani of the meeting with the Prince in the church. If she had told everything to Appiani, as she wished to do, Marinelli's plan would have failed in the beginning. The scene between her and Appiani follows right after the church scene and immediately precedes the one in which the intriguing Marinelli delivers to Appiani the Prince's proposal to go at once as an ambassador to the court of Massa and make final arrangements for the marriage of the Prince with the Princess of Massa. This arrangement of scenes was not the result of mere chance; it is more likely that it was carefully calculated to serve a definite purpose in the play. It was Emilia's only opportunity of telling Appiani of her meeting the Prince in the church. Count Appiani would have answered the Prince's proposal differently, had he known of the

latter's designs on Emilia. By listening to her mother rather than to the dictates of her own heart, Emilia missed the opportunity of telling Appiani what he should have known. As a result, the unsuspecting Count is assassinated, and Emilia is in the hands of the Prince and Marinelli. It is this failure of Emilia to tell Appiani of her experience at the church that fulfils Lessing's theory of tragic guilt. Emilia's love for the Prince would be more than a weakness or fault. It would make her an accomplice of the Prince, and she would deserve the suspicion of Countess Orsina that she was not violently abducted and that the attack was prearranged with Emilia's knowledge.

Accepting Goethe's dictum that Emilia loves the Prince, the critics must, to be consistent, proceed to misinterpret the other characters of the play. Instead of admitting that the Prince is an unscrupulous and thoroughly depraved tyrant, surrounded by flattering parasites, knowing no desire but to give himself to sensual passion and enjoyment, they tell us that he is an accomplished and handsome young man and of a very attractive personality, just the kind that Emilia would fall in love with. However, this is not the Prince as Lessing portrayed him.

Count Appiani, on the other hand, is characterized by the critics as a brooding and sentimental individual, just the kind that Emilia would not fall in love with. Accordingly, Professor Max Winkler tells us: "The relation between Appiani and Emilia is not based upon deep passion. They are merely good friends." And again: "What a contrast there is between the brilliant personality of the Prince and that of Appiani! From the latter she probably never heard any such words of passion as the Prince utters in the church and in Dosalo, for even on his marriage day Appiani approaches his bride with a strange melancholy and a foreboding of evil."<sup>1</sup> But does not Professor Winkler ignore the real character of Appiani? Even the Prince, Appiani's mortal foe, must say of him that he is "a very worthy young man, a handsome man, a rich man, and an honorable man."<sup>2</sup> Emilia's father, himself a man of immaculate honor, considers the approaching

<sup>1</sup> Professor Max Winkler, Introduction to *Emilia Galotti*, Heath & Co., p. xxxiii.

<sup>2</sup> I, vi.

marriage of his daughter with Appiani as the height of happiness. "I can hardly await the time," he says, "when I shall call this worthy young man my son. Everything about him delights me."<sup>1</sup> Emilia herself calls him "my good Appiani" and in the only scene between her and the Count she shows how deeply she does love him.

It is true that Appiani "approaches his bride on the marriage day with a strange melancholy and foreboding of evil." But that is the only time. Professor Winkler's *even* implies the opposite, which is not true. Appiani himself wonders why he feels so downcast on this of all the days of his life. He cannot explain the reason. Then, too, Emilia's dreams about the pearls, which she says signify tears, intensify his melancholy mood and strange premonition of evil. But Appiani's forebodings and Emilia's dreams were designed by the author to prepare us for the tragedy that soon overtakes them both, and not to characterize Appiani as a melancholy and gloomy person. With just as much justice one might speak of Shakespeare's Desdemona as a "melancholy person with a strange foreboding of evil" because she feels like singing the sad Willow Song on the fateful evening before she is strangled.<sup>2</sup> The critics misinterpret Appiani's character. They paint him in the darkest colors and the Prince in the brightest—and all to make it plausible that Emilia loves the Prince.

But to return to Emilia. Against her own will she allowed herself to be persuaded not to tell Appiani of her meeting the Prince in the church. That is her weakness or fault.<sup>3</sup> When she finds herself in the Prince's summer place, she realizes her fault. Hence the tragic words: "That the Count is dead! And why is he dead! Why!"

<sup>1</sup> II, iv.

<sup>2</sup> Dreams and premonitions are commonly used by dramatists to foreshadow events and to create the proper atmosphere in the play. Other examples from Shakespeare are Antonio's unusual sadness in the opening of *The Merchant of Venice*, Clarence's and Stanley's dreams in *Richard III*, Juliet's words in *Romeo and Juliet*:

"I have no joy of this contract to-night;  
It is too rash, too unadvis'd, too sudden,  
Too like the lightning, which doth cease to be  
Ere one can say it lightens."—II, ii, 117-20,

and many others.

<sup>3</sup> A somewhat similar fault or weakness constitutes the tragic guilt of Shakespeare's Desdemona. I mean when she fails to tell Othello that she lost the handkerchief.

Accordingly, the whole question centers around this one point: Was Emilia's silence due to her weakness in obeying her mother's wish rather than the dictates of her own heart, or was it due to a secret, sinful passion for the Prince? It has been pointed out above how reluctantly she obeyed her mother's advice, and that her silence, therefore, was not due to any love for the Prince. Furthermore, Emilia would not have been made happy by her mother's assurances that the Prince was not serious, and that his so-called love professions were but mere gallantries, if she had loved the Prince.

It is also noteworthy that out of the forty-three scenes in the play Emilia appears in only four and not in a single monologue. There is nothing hidden in her nature that needs to be revealed in a monologue, and least of all a secret, sinful passion for the Prince. Goethe's random remark should not have been taken, in this case, as unimpeachable wisdom and expanded into a commentary on the tragedy. Goethe's great reputation by no means rests upon his critical remarks. Not a single one of his literary criticisms stands out pre-eminently. Most of them have merely an extrinsic value due to the fact that Goethe wrote them. Friedrich Schlegel, in his review of Goethe's *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*, says of Goethe as a literary critic: "He revels too much in the enjoyment of his own perfectly beautiful soul to be able to explain with the faithful impartiality of an unassuming investigator the works of another poet." But merely because Goethe, in his old age, made that remark concerning Emilia's character, it was taken up by the critics as a divine oracle and accepted as final. Nearly all the subsequent interpretations of the play are amplifications of one sort or another of Goethe's random and misleading remark.

As already mentioned, Lessing himself said in regard to Emilia: "I know of no higher virtues in a young unmarried girl than piety and obedience." It is these virtues that predominate in her and are the cause of both her weakness and her strength. If she had been a little less obedient, she would not have listened to her mother's advice. Again, the child who at first has no will but her mother's is at last able to make the stronger will of her father submit to hers. She will not go to the Chancellor's house. One hour spent there

made her feel its seductive influence, and it required the severest religious discipline to overcome that influence. If she had been a little less pious, she would not have been so scrupulous. But then she would not have been Emilia as Lessing portrayed her in the play.

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## THE DATE OF *WINNERE AND WASTOURE*

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In a review<sup>1</sup> of Professor Israel Gollancz' edition of "A Good Short Debate between Winner and Waster"<sup>2</sup> I stated that, in my opinion, Professor Gollancz had "established at least a very strong probability for the date 1352-3." This opinion was based partly upon the evidence presented by the editor and partly upon an independent study made before the appearance of his edition. Since this study, made from a different point of view, arrived at the same date, the additional evidence it affords constitutes a corroboration of Professor Gollancz' date. Since some of the evidence cited by Professor Gollancz is open to objection and since it is presented somewhat briefly and casually, I wish to rearrange his evidence before taking up my own argument. The question of the date of *Winnere* has such important bearings on the study of the whole group of alliterative poems that I think it will be desirable to establish its date even more conclusively than Gollancz has done.

The arguments presented<sup>3</sup> may best be surveyed in three groups.

I. One group of references merely shows that the poem was written sometime between 1351 and 1366:<sup>4</sup>

1. The Order of the Garter, referred to in lines 59-68, was founded in 1344, but was not instituted until 1349.
2. Reference is made, line 103, to the knighting of the Black Prince, which occurred in 1346.
3. Edward's "bery-brown berde," line 91, is a reference to a man "in early middle age, that is about forty."

<sup>1</sup> *Mod. Lang. Notes*, February, 1921, pp. 103-10.

<sup>2</sup> *Select Early English Poems*, III. (Oxford University Press, 1920.)

<sup>3</sup> See Gollancz' edition, Preface, pp. 2-6, and notes to ll. 130, 141, 189-90, 286, 292, 461-65.

<sup>4</sup> Professor Hulbert, *Mod. Phil.*, May, 1920, pp. 34-37, set these limits before the appearance of Professor Gollancz' edition, basing his arguments upon Gollancz' two editions of *The Parlement of the Thre Ages*. But much of Professor Hulbert's article applies equally as well to the first group of references I shall cite from the edition of *Winnere*. In a letter of April 6, 1921, however, Professor Hulbert writes: "You may, if you care to, also say that detailed comparison of 'Winnere and Wastoure' with 'Piers Plowman' convinces me now that the latter need not have preceded the former, and that I'm inclined to agree with your date."

4. "The reference at the end of the poem to some period when the truce with France was broken, after the taking of Guines in 1352. . . . The poem well fits into the months from September 1352 to March 1353."<sup>1</sup>

This group of references, then, points to the general period from 1351 to 1366.

II. Another group of references fixes the date of the poem at some time after 1351-52:

1. The Statute of Treasons, 1352, is mentioned, lines 124-33, evidently as a recent enactment.

2. The allusion to "Ynglysses besantes," line 61, refers to the new issue of gold coinage in 1351.

3. "Questions of labor, wages, prices, dress, food, which called forth the Statute of Labourers, 1351, and various sumptuary and economic enactments of about this time."<sup>2</sup>

4. Lines 143-48, 460-70, allude to the growing hatred of the greedy friars and to the policy of the Pope. This hatred found expression in the Statute of Provisors, 1351.

III. The last group of references constitutes the most important evidence for date:

1. The Pope referred to "was evidently Clement VI, who died December 6, 1352," for his successor, Innocent VI (1352-62), opposed the methods in vogue for raising money. This reference would put the action of the poem before December, 1352. And since the poem is primarily a pamphlet of the hour, it must have been composed also before December 6, 1352, or soon after that date.

2. Edward III is said, line 206, to have fostered and fed the disputants "this fyve and twenty wyntere." Though this may be regarded as a round number, we must presume, until there is

<sup>1</sup> But it seems clear, as Professor Hulbert points out, *op. cit.*, p. 37, that the passage indicates a period when there was no active fighting. Moreover, Gollancz does not state why the reference must be to a period after the taking of Guines in 1352. The passage could refer to any one of the numerous truces during the war between England and France, or indeed to the period after the Treaty of Brétigny in 1360. See Hulbert and Longman (*History of Edward III*, I, 313, 321, 352 ff.) for dates of these truces. Longman points out that in spite of the nominal truces Edward was constantly preparing for further invasions and that in 1353 he secured from Parliament a subsidy of wool for three years, which was later extended to six years.

<sup>2</sup> See ll. 230-34, 273, 288, 407; 270-76, 392 ff., 410 ff., 425; 290-93, 368 ff.

definite proof to the contrary, that the author meant what he wrote, the twenty-fifth year of Edward's reign, 1351.

3. Heraldic allusions, lines 69-80, to the combined arms of England and France point to a period after Edward III's great victories and before July, 1353, when Edward offered to give up his claim to the crown of France. Since Mr. Hulbert has shown, *op. cit.*, page 37, that nothing can be made of this point, I shall not refer to it again.

4. Repeated allusions are made to questions resulting from the Black Death of 1349 and to the weather, lines 252, 312 (idle lands, ll. 234; 288; dress, ll. 270-71, 392 ff., 410 ff., 425). This point will be fully discussed below.

5. The mention of profiteering in wheat and the prophecy, lines 368-74, of a fall in prices refer specifically to the year preceding Michaelmas 1353—Michaelmas 1354, a period when the price of wheat was very low and when prices were still falling.

6. Direct reference is made by name, line 317, to William Share-shull, who was head of the Court of the King's Bench from 1350 to 1357. While this allusion may point to any date between these years, I hope to show that it would have most point in the years 1352-53.

This last set of references, then, is the most significant in the poem. The references to Pope Clement VI, to profiteering in wheat, to the twenty-fifth year of Edward III are specific and refer only to the period 1351-52. The description of the quartered arms of the king furnishes no conclusive evidence as to date.<sup>1</sup>

Whatever objections may be raised to the ambiguous references listed above in the first group, the essential evidence for date remains untouched. For it is important to remember (1) that there are other references which refer only to a definitely limited period, and (2) that the date established by this evidence does not contradict a single other time reference in the poem.

Moreover, the significance of all these references becomes much more important when we remember that *Winnere and Wastoure* is primarily a poem on contemporary social and economic problems.

<sup>1</sup> But if Gollancz is right in his reasoning on this point, this allusion would date the poem before July, 1353.

The effect of the poem, therefore, depends largely upon the timeliness of its allusions.<sup>1</sup> I hope to show what is implied but not clearly proved by Gollancz, namely, that these allusions to contemporary affairs not only fit the winter of 1352–53, but that they fit this date and no other.

The most important of these allusions are those to the twenty-fifth year of Edward's reign, to the Statutes of Labourers, Treasons, Provisors, to the weather, the dearness of food, the low price of wheat and the prophecy of still lower prices, the new gold coinage, Share-shull, and disturbances of the peace. Since this is a topical poem, these references have little point unless they refer to current questions, to problems of the hour.

References to these problems are to be found not only in the poem but also in the chronicles of the period and in the acts of Parliament. A study of these latter sources, then, ought to throw considerable light on the economic and social unrest leading to the petitions of the Commons and motivating the action of the poem.

In looking for such a clue I used Longman's *History of the Life and Times of Edward III*; J. Barnes, *History of Edward III* (Cambridge, 1688), which is very valuable for the use it makes of the chronicles and the rolls of Parliament; the *Chronicon Angliae*; and the chronicles of Capgrave, Knighton, Robert Avesbury, and Thomas Walsingham. I of course paid most attention to such matters of domestic legislation and economic unrest as may be referred to in *Winnere*. Since the Commons and those who elected them knew best what grievances were most oppressive and what conditions needed remedying, their petitions are important evidences of popular unrest and protest.

Of the parliaments from 1351 to 1366, that of 1352 is by far the most important as regards social legislation. And the acts of this Parliament, and those of no other of the period, as will be shown, fit the allusions in the poem. According to *Rotuli Parliamentarum* (II, 236–37) and Barnes (pp. 455–58), the chief causes for the summoning of this Parliament, as stated by Lord Chief Justice William

<sup>1</sup> Gollancz, Preface, p. 6, says: "His poem is in fact a topical pamphlet in alliterative verse on the social and economic problems of the hour, as vivid as present day discussions on like problems."

Shareshull, were: (1) the desire to complete the unfinished business of the Parliament of 1349, which had been brought to an abrupt close by the Plague; (2) a consideration of the war with France; and (3) the pressing matters of domestic legislation.

One of the most important acts of this Parliament was the release by the king of half of the provisions appointed to be collected by his purveyors. This release, a most unusual act for Edward III, was due, no doubt, to the great dearth. The powers of purveyors were limited by act of this Parliament and also again in 1363. Edward's desire to keep money within the realm led to the act permitting only merchants to export money. The Commons petitioned that the subsidy on wool cease and that merchants be relieved from the payment of export duties. Strict laws against forestallers and regraters, who were greatly despised because they were thought to cause the scarceness of provisions and the increase in prices, were passed. A "Statute of Provisors" and a "Statute of Treasons"<sup>1</sup> were also enacted at this time.

Of the important allusions made in the poem the following are paralleled in the acts and petitions of the Parliament of 1352; the weather (the drouth), the Statute of Provisors, the Statute of Treasons, high prices, scarceness of food, the coinage, the twenty-fifth year of Edward III, labor conditions, Shareshull, and disturbances of the peace. It is apparent that in the year 1352-53 *Winnere* would be a most timely poem of the hour. But let us see whether or not it may not be as timely for some other year.

The Parliament of 1353 met to consider the removal of the wool staple to England. This Parliament granted to Edward III a subsidy on wool for three years.

The Parliament of the next year is mentioned by neither Barnes nor Longman.

<sup>1</sup> Further statutes were passed in later parliaments to limit the power of the Pope, for this quarrel became increasingly prominent as the century advanced. But this Statute of Treasons still continues in force. Longman (I, 345-46) explains this statute as follows: "In order to defraud the nobility and gentry of the escheats of lands, forfeited to them . . . by their vassals, in certain cases of felony and misdemeanor, and to vest the same in the Crown, the judges had multiplied the crimes which they called treason to a most expressive extent." There are numerous allusions in the poem to disturbances of the peace. And in ll. 317-18 Shareshull, who was Lord Chief Justice and part of whose official duty it was to state to Parliament the reasons why that body had been summoned, is mentioned directly by name in connection with such a charge of disturbing the peace.

The chief questions in 1355 were the wool staple and the conduct of the war. Since both of these questions were discussed repeatedly throughout the second half of the century, they furnish no evidence for date. As was seen above, the wool trade is not mentioned in the poem, and the end of the poem may refer to any one of the several truces.<sup>1</sup>

The causes for the summoning of Parliament in 1362 were: matters of the church, the discussion of French relations, the low price of wool, and Scotch affairs.<sup>2</sup> I can find in the poem no reference to the quarrel between Edward and the Pope, to Scotch affairs, or to the low price of wool.<sup>3</sup>

The Parliament of 1363 dealt with the price of wool and with cornering the food market (regraters and forestallers). The latter reference is one significant parallel between the acts of Parliament and the economic allusions in the poem. But this is the sole bit of evidence the acts of Parliament present for the date 1363. Against this sole bit of evidence we have the numerous parallels between the poem and the acts of the Parliament of 1352.

The sessions of 1365 and 1366 were concerned almost entirely with the quarrel between Edward III and the Pope and with the dispute between the universities and the friars, matters which are not once alluded to in the poem.

This survey of the parliaments from 1351 through 1366 shows clearly that if we are to look in the records of Parliament for a

<sup>1</sup> One reason for the summoning of Parliament was Edward's desire to obtain money for the conduct of the war. A subsidy on wool was a common form of grant.

<sup>2</sup> The wool staple was removed to Calais and the exportation of wool was permitted in the hope that the price would be enhanced and that Edward would thereby receive more money. During this Parliament the exportation of money was again forbidden and the value of clothing was strictly limited. The Commons protested so vigorously that the latter law was repealed in 1364. Attacks upon extravagant dress, such as are made in the poem, are so common as to furnish no conclusive evidence for date. See, for example, *Rich. Redelss*, III, 138 ff.; *Castell of Perseverance*, E.E.T.S., 151, 2489-90; *Regement of Princes*, sts. 61, 67, 77. Gollancz in his note to l. 411 cites three parallels. The point of the references in *Winnere* is that they are made in regard to the extravagance of the friars and the new-rich class, not in regard to the infringement of personal liberty.

<sup>3</sup> Bradley, *Athenaeum*, 1903, 1,498, points out that the speech of Waster, ll. 294-318, imprecates both churchmen and judges, and that the banners of the judges and the friars are both in the same army. As he shows, the circumstances which later made the judges adversaries of the church and which led to the excommunication of Sharehull and the other judges and to the bitter quarrel between Edward and the Pope had not yet arisen. Neilson's argument, *Athenaeum*, 1901, 2,157, 560-61, that the reference is to this quarrel of 1356-58, therefore, becomes absurd, especially so when one remembers that the Pope and the judges are on the same side.

discussion of the social and economic evils attacked in *Winnere*, the Parliament of 1352, and only that of 1352, has any considerable significance in relation to the allusions in the poem to current topics of discussion. This Parliament, moreover, is mentioned more frequently in the contemporary chronicles than is that of any other year.

The chronicles also mention other topics alluded to in the poem. Again, as in the records of Parliament, the significant parallels not only are found in the entries for 1352-53, but are also confined to this period. The results of this survey may easily be seen from the following table of the entries year by year:

1351: increased prices (*Chronicon*).

1352: a serious drought, followed by famine and high prices (Capgrave,<sup>1</sup> Knighton, Walsingham, *Chronicon*); a long and cold winter (Knighton, under 1353); the Statute of Labourers (Walsingham, *Chronicon*, under 1353); a popular uprising in Chester growing out of just such economic conditions as are mentioned in the chronicles, in the acts of Parliament, and in the poem (Knighton, under 1352, where Shareshull is mentioned by name in connection with this uprising).

1353: a storm.<sup>2</sup>

1356: a storm.<sup>2</sup>

1362: a storm.<sup>2</sup>

1363: a great frost; increased prices; regulation of dress.

Taken alone, these parallels suggest 1351, 1352, and 1363 as the only possible dates for the poem. It is essential to note, however, that the poem distinctly refers to low prices, whereas the chronicles, under 1351 and 1363, mention increased prices. The regulation of dress has been discussed above.<sup>3</sup> The simple process of elimination, then, leads to the conclusion that, if the similarities between the poem and the chronicles show anything, the parallels cited point conclusively to the year 1352-53. Both the evidence of the acts of Parliament and the evidence of the chronicles establish 1352-53 as

<sup>1</sup> "In the XXVII yere was there swich a droute in the lond that from the month of March on to July fel not a drope of reyn on the grounde; for that cause the gres and the corn was evene dreid up. So Ynglond . . . was feyn to be fed with other londis." Gollancz, p. 5, quotes Knighton's account under the year 1352.

<sup>2</sup> Since the poem contains no reference to a storm, this point demands no discussion.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 216, n. 2.

the date of the poem. And there is no reference in the poem which contradicts this date.

Still another bit of evidence may be cited in confirmation of this date. We have seen that the great dearth of food, the high prices, and labor unrest were discussed in the Parliament of 1352, and that Edward, presumably because of the unusually severe economic conditions, released the Commons of half of the provisions to be collected from them. Such conditions in England led to uprisings and protests, as we have seen, from the Commons and those classes most affected, especially the agricultural classes, which play an important rôle in *Winnere*. Knighton's account of such an uprising, referred to above, is given under the year 1353. Dunn-Pattison<sup>1</sup> describes the uprising as follows:

In Cheshire they rose in open revolt and attacked the servants of the Prince, who were entrusted with supervising his interests. . . . Accordingly, in addition to sending Sir Richard Willoughby and Sir William Sharshull, the itinerant justices, to sit in Eyre, at Chester, the King was obliged to despatch the Prince, the Duke of Lancaster, and the Earls of Stafford and Warwick, with a strong force, to restore order and support the judges. Against such an imposing array the men of Cheshire could do nothing, and were glad to compound with the Prince their lord for five thousand marks.

*Winnere and Wastoure* was written by a man who speaks of himself (ll. 8 and 32) as a western man, and it is entirely possible (though I do not assert that it is probable) that, living in the West of England, where this uprising occurred, he had heard of Shareshull's connection with this disturbance of the peace and that he knew something of the causes of this disturbance. It is significant, I think, that Sharshull and the other judges, the Prince, King Edward, and the yeoman play important parts both in this uprising and in the poem, and that the cause of the uprising and the central theme of the poem is fundamentally the same economic one. Whether or not the author had this particular uprising in mind is a matter of no great consequence for the dating of the poem. Nor does Shareshull's connection with it prove more than that he was Lord Chief Justice at the time it occurred. The importance of the account consists in the fact that this uprising was due to just such economic conditions as are outlined

<sup>1</sup> R. P. Dunn-Pattison, *The Black Prince* (New York, 1910), pp. 127-28.

in the poem and that it occurred in 1352, the date which all available evidence fixes as the date of the poem.

In conclusion, while some of the references in the poem may refer to any year between 1351 and 1366, I feel that the specific statements concerning the twenty-fifth year of Edward's reign and the youth of the Black Prince, the unmistakable mention of Shareshull in connection with an uprising against precisely such bitter economic conditions as existed in their most extreme form in the winter of 1352-53, and, most important of all, the repeated references in the poem, in the chronicles, and in the acts of Parliament to the weather and to the social and economic conditions described in *Winnere*, furnish definite and conclusive proof of the date of the poem as the winter of 1352-53, the only year of the period 1351-66 which harmonizes with the motivating dispute and the economic significance of the poem. If we assume any other date, the purpose, the allegory, the definite references to topics of the day, in short, the timeliness of the poem and its significance as a pamphlet of the hour are at once considerably weakened, if not rendered quite meaningless.

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## ***LE DOUBLE MONT IN FRENCH RENAISSANCE POETRY***

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Joachim du Bellay complimenting Héroët in the *Recueil de Poésie* writes:

Ta muse des Graces amie,  
La mienne à te louer semond  
Qui sur le haut du double mont  
As erigé l'académie.

Le Franc in his useful article on "Le Platonisme et la Littérature en France 1500-1540" (*Revue d'Histoire Litt. de la France*, 1896) conjectures here a reference to a hypothetical literary academy on the hill of Lyons. He says "Scève Dolet, Rabelais, Macrin, Sainte-Marthe Fontaine . . . se rencontrèrent à bien des reprises sur la colline de Fourvières." This I think is a misconception of the meaning of the passage and one more illustration of the value of a little acquaintance with the classics to the critic of comparative literature. The double hill is Parnassus, the Muses' mount so designated in one of the most familiar of Renaissance Latin quotations, the line of Persius' Prologue: *neque in bicipiti somniasse Parnasso*. And the meaning of du Bellay's compliment is that Héroët has transferred the academy to Parnassus, i.e., treated Platonic philosophy in poetry. With a somewhat similar conceit La Fontaine speaking of his Psyche says "quatre amis dont la connaissance avoit commencé par le Parnasse lièrent une espèce de société que j'appelerais académie si, etc." If *le double mont* requires further confirmation we may compare Du Bartas (The Ark II *Semaine*):

si le Laurier sacré, qui m'ombrageoit le front  
esueillé se flétrit: et si du double mont  
où loin de cest Enfer vostre Vranie habite,  
Ma Muse à corps perdu si bas se précipite.

which Sylvester, perhaps not understanding *double*, translates

And if now banished from the learned Fount  
And cast down headlong from the lofty mount.

A specialist in Renaissance French literature could doubtless cite many other examples. I will add one from English. Drayton in his *Elegy of Poets and Poesie* has:

Methought I straight had mounted Pegasus  
And in his full career could make him stop  
And bound upon Parnassus bi-cliff top.

"Bi-cliff" is Persius' *bicipiti* which in turn reproduces the Greek *dikoruphos* applied to the plateau of Parnassus above Delphi in Euripides' *Bacchae* 307.

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## GEORGE HEMPL, 1859-1921

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Through the untimely death of George Hempl, Professor of Germanic philology in Leland Stanford Junior University, the causes of linguistic research and of educational leadership in America suffer an inestimable loss. He was born in Whitewater, Wisconsin, received the baccalaureate degree in 1879 from the University of Michigan, and in 1889, the doctorate from the University of Jena, after three years of study at various German universities.

As principal of the Saginaw (Michigan) High School, 1879-82, and of the La Porte (Indiana) High School, 1882-84, he gained practical insight into the vital relation of secondary school education to the work of college and university. This experience was permanently helpful to him in articulating his subsequent work as a university teacher with that of the preparatory school. Two years as teacher of German in Johns Hopkins University, 1884-86, seventeen years as teacher of English, English philology, and general linguistics in the University of Michigan, 1889-1906, and fifteen years as professor of Germanic philology in Leland Stanford Junior University, 1906-21, make, with the secondary school experience just mentioned, a total of forty-two years of most stimulating and fruitful pedagogical leadership. There was something peculiarly winsome and inspiring in the personality of the man. No one who knew Professor Hempl failed to be impressed by his genial bearing, his generous estimate of the work of other men, his infectious interest in the problems of language and of teaching, and his undaunted courage that kept him steadily and cheerfully at work in spite of serious accident and failing health. He was a man of heroic mold.

His *Old English Phonology*, 1892, his *Chaucer's Pronunciation*, 1893, his *German Orthography and Phonology*, 1897, his *Phonetic Text of Wilhelm Tell*, 1900, together with his numerous papers upon problems of Germanic philology, are among the most valuable published expressions of his own research. As a phonetician of

recognized ability and as a student of the history of alphabetic writing he became in the year 1908-9 especially interested in attempting to decipher Etruscan, Hittite, and other inscriptions of the Mediterranean basin. The record of his work in these fields is still largely in manuscript. The discoveries, however, which he believed he had made, are sufficiently numerous and important to make the world of scholars eager to examine his evidence and reasoning in detail. His reputation as a keen observer of speech phenomena, as a conservative and fair-minded judge of the facts observed by him, and as a lover of the truth, singularly devoid of pet prepossessions about the truth, encourages those who knew him and his work to expect much of permanent value from these latest lines of his research.

The death of Professor Hempl means for *Modern Philology* the loss of one of the ablest of its Advisory Board of Editors.

STARR WILLARD CUTTING

# Modern Philology

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## ENGLISH CRITICISM OF THE "PROLOGUE IN HEAVEN" IN GOETHE'S *FAUST*

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As late as the year 1883, John Stuart Blackie in his Preface to *The Wisdom of Goethe*<sup>1</sup> is obliged to confess that there were but few unbiased readers of the German poet on the English side of the Channel, and that the bad impression which still existed in England of Goethe's character might neutralize anything favorable said of him. After relating an anecdote illustrating the superficial remarks of two egotistical English gentlemen concerning a German work of plastic art, he continues: "Besides this easy habit of an assumed superiority, so natural to empty minds, there is in the case of Goethe the unquestioned fact of a great gap between the English and the German mind, which even Englishmen of large culture and high principle find it difficult to overbridge."<sup>2</sup> Blackie then proceeds with keen analytical sense to give the differentiating moral and mental characteristics of the two nations concerned. The practical Briton believes German enthusiasm is a fault; the Englishman is guided by external expediency rather than by internal principle; he is constitutional in his mode of thinking rather than philosophical, contemplative, and emotional like his German brother; and above all, his religion is ecclesiastical rather than spiritual.

English thinkers themselves realize, then, that in many respects the average Anglo-Saxon in his internal make-up is the polar opposite

<sup>1</sup> New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

<sup>2</sup> Preface, pp. xii-xiv.

of the German, and that there is an almost impassable barrier between the two, which even time cannot wholly remove. An instructive illustration of this fundamental barrier is the English attitude toward the "Prologue in Heaven" in Goethe's *Faust*, a work universally acknowledged to be a masterpiece.

The "Prologue" has always been more or less of a stumbling-block to fastidious Englishmen, and even those with at least a potentially sympathetic attitude of mind and an honest endeavor to understand its import have encountered serious difficulties. For almost a century English critics and translators have clashed on the importance and meaning of the "Prologue"; pages have been written on the propriety of introducing the devil into the presence of the Lord, and commentaries reveal a ceaseless expenditure of time and energy on Goethe's alleged levity and irreverence. The Weimar master innocently thought it an asset to base the scene on the Book of Job, and that it exalted the key to the problems of his hero to localize the wager in heaven. But alas! It became the most vulnerable part of his work to British readers, *the bone of ethical and religious contention, an unpardonable transgression against the very Deity from which they shrank in holy horror and condemnation*. Dramatic technicalities and poetic qualities were forgotten or disregarded in moralizing reproofs and apprehensions over Goethe's "blasphemy." No wonder that so many failed to see the connection between Parts I and II and assigned Faust logically and unhesitatingly, as an unrepentant seducer and murderer, to eternal damnation, according to the austere demands of the established church!

It was this inherent attitude toward and misinterpretation of the "Prologue in Heaven" which so often led to misunderstanding of the author's deeper philosophy of the whole drama, and from the record of the treatment of this scene by English critics and some forty-odd translators of *Faust* we can obtain incidentally an excellent idea of English judgment and English propensities in general.

It is a strangely interesting variety of opinions and modes of action which are represented in this treatment of the "Prologue." In the beginning, before the appearance of Part II, it was often a case of plain inability to see any clue to the solution of the *Faust*

problem in the part in question. It was an oversight, maybe inexcusable, but nevertheless an honest oversight, and the English student of *Faust* groped vainly about in the dark seeking some plausible idea of Goethe's ultimate intentions. One translator leaves out the "Prologue" because of personal objections; another for practical, diplomatic reasons. One seems to admire it secretly, but sees himself compelled to bow to the feelings of the public and omit the scene; another is afraid to omit it, because a certain critic holds it indispensable to an understanding of the drama. Again, a translator finds a way out of the perplexity by making a compromise and limiting his translation to the Archangels' Song; still another satisfies his conscience—and leaves the problem in safe obscurity—by printing the German "der Herr" instead of the more objectionable "the Lord." Some understand the purport of the "Prologue" completely; others profess they see no necessary relation whatever between that and the Gretchen tragedy. Some treat the part separately, as a unit by itself; others insert it in its proper place, if for no other reason than to be true to the original, in an external way at least, and not expose themselves to the charge of omission. Only twenty-four years ago a translator, McClintock, regarded the "Prologue" merely as a harmless effusion, good enough in itself, but of no further consequence.

Naturally, as the nineteenth century draws to a close there is less emphasis on the moral and religious aspects of the "Prologue" and more on its dramatic and aesthetic import, but even the most ardent, learned, and sympathetic translators of *Faust* deem it advisable to *explain* at length the insertion of the scene either on technical or historical grounds or on general principles of common sense, modernity, and broadmindedness. Blackie himself omits the "Prologue" from the text of his first edition of *Faust*, but slips it into a "Post Script" in an emasculated form, omitting entirely the offensive last four lines. In his second edition of 1880 it is introduced in its proper place; that is, the English attitude is obviously changed as time goes on, and we must concede considerable aesthetic development in the right direction. That the "Prologue" offers serious obstacles to be overcome, is certain. Whatever the translator's own opinions were, he was constantly torn

between public sentiment, which up to about 1860 at least must have been tolerably strong against it, and the relentless attacks of certain intellectual critics who favored and understood the "Prologue" but who could conceal their identity, if necessary, and save their moral reputation behind the anonymity of an editorial staff. It took moral courage to champion publicly the merits and purpose of a dramatic scene where Mephisto and the Lord were actually engaged in conversation. It was a hazardous undertaking for a lover of Goethe who wanted both recognition for his scholarship and buyers for his translation. This dilemma can easily be discerned in the notes, prefaces, and introductions to the various editions of *Faust*.

In justice to Englishmen, however, it must be stated that many of a deeper and more independent turn of mind and open heart have argued in favor of the "Prologue" with admirable conviction, and the writer's principal source material for this paper has been taken from criticisms by English Goethe students. These have recognized the pettiness, narrow-mindedness, and senselessness of the unfavorable conceptions of other countrymen and have not been slow to take them to task for it. Both English and American commentators have upbraided them for "prudishness" and "squeamishness," and when George Henry Lewes makes the unequivocal explanation apropos the "Prologue" that "Mephisto is not a hypocrite: he cannot pay even *that* homage to virtue,"<sup>1</sup> we cannot help thinking that Lewes implies an even more serious charge against some of his race. But let us pass to more specific data.

In an unfavorable article on *Faust* in the *Monthly Review* for 1810,<sup>2</sup> attributed to William Taylor of Norwich, reference is made to the "Prologue in Heaven," and while this scene is not called profane, vulgar, or obscene, like the rest of the tragedy, its significance is overlooked.<sup>3</sup> It is interesting to note that Madame de Staël did not mention the "Prologue" in *L'Allemagne*, published three years later, nor did August Wilhelm Schlegel in his *Lectures on Dramatic Art and Literature*, which appeared in English translation in 1815. This may account in part for the subsequent attitude

<sup>1</sup> *Life and Works of Goethe* (Everyman's edition), p. 469.

<sup>2</sup> LXII, 491.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. William Frederic Hauhart, *The Reception of Goethe's Faust in England in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1909), p. 25.

of some prominent English writers, for both of these foreigners were held in great esteem in England.

The first printed disapproval of the "Prologue" dates from 1820, when the reviewer of *Outlines to Goethe's Faust* (first published by Retzsch in 1816), "with a feeling of self-conscious superiority," passes a condemnatory judgment on the scene in the *London Magazine*.<sup>1</sup> He writes: "The Germans have not yet resigned that freedom of manner which may be considered as a proof of innocence or of impudence, according as it is traced to simplicity of heart, or contempt for those things which most people consider sacred. In short, they take liberties with attributes, names, and characters, in which it would not be pardonable for us to follow them, because we in our country have got far beyond the patriarchal stage. They do not hesitate still to introduce the person of the Deity in compositions of mixed nature."<sup>2</sup> This reviewer knew the analogy of the "Prologue" to the proem of the Book of Job.

When the Irish barrister, John Anster, first rendered a few selections of *Faust* into English verse in Blackwood's *Edinburgh Magazine*, the same year, he objected to the "Prologue." He believed it was written "in a light and irreverent tone" with "very little merit of any kind." Since he failed to divine its meaning he had to explain the moral issue in another way.<sup>3</sup> The anonymous translation of 1821 omitted the "Prologue" and "Walpurgis Night." When Carlyle published a criticism of *Faust* in the *New Edinburgh Review*, in April of the following year, no mention was made of the scene, and in the discussion of the main problem he had to seek light elsewhere.<sup>4</sup> Nor did Walter Scott grasp the purpose of the part, asserting that "nobody but a German would ever have provoked a comparison with the Book of Job, the grandest poem that ever was written."<sup>5</sup> It is generally assumed, the testimony of H. C. Robinson to the contrary notwithstanding,<sup>6</sup> that Coleridge's charge of licentiousness, vulgarity, blasphemy, and want of religion in the language of *Faust* refers chiefly to the "Prologue." In fact, in giving his

<sup>1</sup> I. 137.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Hauhart, *The Reception of Goethe's "Faust" in England*, pp. 32-33, where this passage is quoted.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 34.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 53 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 76.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Henry Crabb Robinson, *Diary, Reminiscences and Correspondence* (Boston, 1877), I, 254.

reasons for refusing to render it into English, he expressed the doubt whether it became his moral character to translate a work of that kind.<sup>1</sup>

In 1822 George Soane made a translation of 576 lines of *Faust*, including the "Prologue," which is said to have been seen and applauded by Goethe, but it was not printed until many years later.<sup>2</sup> The first printed translation of the "Prologue" appears to have been made by Shelley, as a separate item, and published in 1824 among his *Posthumous Poems*.

Lord Francis Leveson Gower, in his *Faust* translation of 1825, "countenanced the worst of English prejudices" and terminated the "Prologue" with the song of the Archangels, an act which greatly astonished Goethe, who could not understand the reason for this aggravation. It is worthy of note that in 1828 an observing critic of Goethe's works writing in the *Foreign Review and Continental Miscellany* for March,<sup>3</sup> readily draws the conclusion that *Faust* will not be sent to perdition, but without seeking or detecting the solution in the "Prologue in Heaven."

During the next two decades, with the growing interest in *Faust* and the publication of the completed work and numerous English translations, the "Prologue" is subjected to a new series of trials, ending now in reluctant or unstinted appreciation, now in silent or open disapprobation; now in recognition, either partial or complete, and again in absolute rejection. It is one continuous seesaw of eulogies and blame.

Few Englishmen, however, entertain any opposition to the Archangels' chants of the "Prologue." These and Margaret's monologue at the spinning wheel are translated anonymously in the *Dublin University Magazine* for 1836;<sup>4</sup> John Edmund Reade, Esq., did the chants into English in 1840; and Sir George Lefèvre, M.D., condescends to include them in his English rendering of *Faust*, Part I, in 1841 and 1843, although the remainder of the "Prologue" is ignored without comment.

In 1832 there appeared a new edition of *Faustus* (the greater part of *Faust*, Part I, translated into verse connected by a prose

<sup>1</sup> Hauhart, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

<sup>2</sup> In *Archiv. f. d. Studium d. n. Sprachen*, CXII, 280-93.

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 429-68.      <sup>4</sup> VII, 278-302.

narrative) with Retzsch's *Outlines* engraved by Henry Moses, and the *May-Day Night* in an "Addenda" by Shelley. The Preface tells us (p. vi): "Some parts are omitted which, it was thought, would be offensive to English readers, from the free, and occasionally immoral tendency of the allusions which they contain." After acknowledging a difference in taste between the two nations concerned, we are informed that this would have rendered "a clear translation of that which in Germany is considered sublime in our [English] language ludicrous." Reasons for omitting the Prelude are given and then the Preface proceeds: "For a different reason the 'Prologue' has also been passed over: it carries the scene to heaven, whither Mephistopheles ascends for the purpose of obtaining permission to tempt Faustus; and both in conception and execution is repugnant to notions of propriety such as are entertained in this country."

The anonymous translator of 1834 reaches a similar verdict. "I have not translated the 'Prologue in Heaven,'" he confesses, "as I cannot but think that the tone of the levity with which it treats matters of the most sacred nature must be repugnant to English feelings."<sup>1</sup>

That John Stuart Blackie relegated the "Prologue" to a postscript in his first edition of Part I, 1834, has already been noted. Even in the "Post Script" a dozen lines are left out because of their assumed levity. Otherwise the "Prologue" is worth studying, he thinks, for it contains the key to the character of Faust and Mephisto, and of their mutual relation to the Great Being who guides all. Blackie had actually translated the *whole* of the scene, but was dissuaded from inserting it in its proper place by friends whose opinion he respected. Moreover, he gives it in "somewhat castigated shape" that will satisfy "every reasonable person of proper feeling." That is, he consulted the feelings of those for whom the translation was made. In its original form the "Prologue" could not fail to repel, he believed, and so removed the "colloquial familiarities, which are the chief blemish in the original." Nothing could convince him that this "tone of careless familiarity" in which things divine were here spoken of was "in any wise worthy of the great poet from whom it

<sup>1</sup> Preface, p. vii.

came."<sup>1</sup> But now that the conversational levity had been removed, he felt there was nothing in his translation that could give offence even "to the most straight-laced orthodoxy." Now it would give pleasure to all, "except those of impure or ignoble minds whose memory is retentive of obscenities and levities." In brief, Blackie bowed at first, though reluctantly perhaps, to public sentiment for reasons of prudence, while secretly cherishing many beauties of the drama that his friends did not comprehend.

John Hills, Esq., regrets in 1840<sup>2</sup> that he has to omit the "Prologue in Heaven" but maintains that it is not essential to the understanding of the poem. It was "an after-thought as it was an after-production." Yet the real excuse for the omission is the ordinary one then in vogue. Hills admits that "the charge of irreverence and profanity which has been brought against the 'Prologue'" has had considerable weight with him. He implies that even though it could be defended "by and over a cold intellect" it would leave the "heart unsatisfied amid the wreck of its accustomed associations."

In the interim the importance of the "Prologue" had been definitely set forth by the *Quarterly Review* in 1826.<sup>3</sup> A. Hayward had not hesitated to include the abused scene for the sake of completeness in his prose version of Part I, 1833, and to censure Lord Gower for leaving it out on grounds of "decency." Hayward claimed boldly that Lord Gower had imparted an immoral tendency to the poem which he thus professed to purify, and that it "unwittingly" fixed "a stigma on the moral and religious character of Goethe."<sup>4</sup> Besides, Hayward pointed out that Goethe's expression "den Alten" was not necessarily a disrespectful designation—he criticised Shelley for rendering it by "the Old Fellow"—and recalled Shakespeare's contention that a fallen angel was still an angel who liked to see the Lord once in a while.<sup>5</sup> Hence Mephisto is in heaven amongst the host. Hayward explained further the relation of the "Prologue" to the Book of Job. Goethe had adhered to the second tradition, in which Satan is not a rebel against the will of God, but a powerful tempter, authorized and appointed as such.

<sup>1</sup> "Post Script," pp. 215, 221.

<sup>2</sup> *Faust, a Tragedy by Goethe*, London, Berlin, 1840.

<sup>3</sup> XXXIV, 138.

<sup>4</sup> Translator's Preface, p. xv.

<sup>5</sup> P. 210.

Because of the opinion of the critic in the *Quarterly Review*, David Syme is afraid to omit the "Prologue" in his *Faust*, Part I, in 1834. But in his Preface he immediately throws off as much responsibility as possible upon this writer and then adds an apologetical analogy of his own: "The opening dialogue is strange and startling, but its omission, in one instance, having been considered 'all but fatal to the understanding of the drama,' I retain it. The idea is not bolder than that of Raffaelle's fresco on the ceiling of the loggia of the Vatican—God dividing light and darkness—and in both cases the effect depends much on the disposition of the spectator's mind."<sup>1</sup> In the last part of this statement Syme, either consciously or unconsciously, strikes at least one profound truth of the matter.

Another critic, reviewing Goethe's *Nachgelassene Werke* in the *Foreign Quarterly Review* for July, 1833,<sup>2</sup> calls specific attention to the "Prologue in Heaven," in the completed *Faust*, "in which a somewhat irreverent colloquy between Mephistopheles and the Lord is set forth." The writer understands its import and quotes from the poem the portion showing Goethe's plan and the futility of the devil's scheme, and yet he cannot refrain from referring to the conversation as "irreverent."

Dr. Anster, in 1835, has an interesting struggle with himself—at least an external one—about the "Prologue." He finally decides to retain it in his translation, *Faustus, a Dramatic Mystery*, but considers it expedient to devote several pages to a justification of its presence "by bringing all possible arguments for its retention."<sup>3</sup> "I have had great hesitation," says Anster, "in translating some parts of the 'Prologue in Heaven.' To omit it, however—nay, even to disguise or diminish its revolting effect by the colorings and shadings of language—would be to vary essentially the character of the whole drama." Anster then proceeds cautiously to query (and imply) whether, after all, it isn't a matter of taste, and whether the question of morals and good taste might not be left with Goethe. At any rate his is the drama and his the blame. The translator, shielding himself, declares he does not defend "the conception or the execution of this remarkable passage," and deems it a case of poetic freedom, like other "less successful parts of the poem."

<sup>1</sup> Preface, pp. 1-2.

<sup>2</sup> XXIII, 81 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Hauhart, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

The "admiration of his own country" should be in favor of the dramatist, Anster ventures to suggest, "as against the vague prejudices which in one way or another have possessed the English public" (p. xvi). Mephisto in the "Highest Presence cannot but violently shock and wound the feelings," he goes on to say, "but yet does not this daring levity too remarkably characterize the scepticism, which Mephisto personifies, to have it omitted in any adequate exhibition of that scepticism?" (p. x). "I would suggest," Anster continues diplomatically, "that however shocked the reader may be at first meeting the audacious dialogue, it is not impossible that, on a question of his own art, the great artist may after all be in the right; and that in no other way could he hope so perfectly to exhibit the character of that spirit, to which even in the Highest Presence neither humility nor elevation is possible" (p. xi). And besides, have not fallen angels long been a subject of poetry? A hundred passages could be pointed out in *Paradise Lost* as likely "to offend the taste which declaims against Goethe, for what it pardons—perhaps applauds—in Milton." Somehow one cannot help feeling that Anster personally was tolerably well satisfied with the "Prologue" and just took this opportunity to silence some of the idiotic objections to it. And yet 'twas he that printed "der Herr" instead of "the Lord."

The same year Robert Talbot adopts a new reason for inserting the "Prologue." Says Talbot: "To the few, who, not entering into the general conception of the Poem, might be startled by the apparent boldness of many passages contained in it, a word or two of explanation might not be amiss. Goethe was far from intending to exhibit anything like irreligious levity. This extraordinary Production, it must be recollect'd, was founded on an old Puppet show, which represented the popular story of Faust; and it was composed upon the model of one of those Scenic Exhibitions, so frequent in the infancy of the Modern Drama; in which not only the Powers of Darkness, and the Angelic Virtues, but the Deity himself was familiarly introduced upon the stage."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *The Faust of Goethe, Attempted in English Rhyme*, by the Hon. Robert Talbot (London, 1835), p. v.

Still there seems to have been some complaint about Talbot's liberties, for in his second edition of *The Faust of Goethe, Part the First*, 1839, "Revised and much Corrected," he feels compelled to reiterate his assertions in a somewhat different form. "With regard to the seemingly culpable latitude of expression occasionally occurring in the poem [and more particularly in what is called the Prologue in Heaven], however desirable it may be, in point of taste, that it had been more restrained, if not altogether suppressed, it should be always borne in mind, that this drama was composed on the model and in the tone of, the old *Mysteries*; in which liberties, fully as daring, were constantly taken without any offence having been given or intended" (p. xiii). Goethe held in his hand the "Gothic" license of a Gothic composition.

That translators of the complete *Faust*, or of Part II, should understand the necessity of the "Prologue," is only natural. It is included therefore in the anonymous translation of both parts in 1838, without comment or excuses. Archer Gurney in the Preface to his translation of Part II, 1842, sees an opportunity to make once for all a frank statement about the value of the "Prologue": "Surely it is strange—nay almost miraculous—that all this should appear aimless and visionary, that the Second Part should be declared to have little or no connection with the First Part, to afford no satisfactory results. To me the First Part seems incomplete and unsatisfactory without it. We are therefore informed in the 'Prologue' that the *Eternal* aspects of his servant Faust will vanquish the powers of darkness" (vii).

Jonathan Birch, translator of Parts I and II, 1839–43, understood both the drama and the English attitude, prepared his translation accordingly, and catered to the public in a novel method. "Relative to this translation," declares Birch, "I have proposed to myself to give the *meaning* of my author fully, neither skipping over nor avowedly leaving out any part; but studiously masking such passages as might be considered objectionable to delicacy."<sup>1</sup> Birch explains that Mephisto is the "Tempter of Mankind: His Language is of the sarcastic, not the boldly defying, which Milton puts into the mouth of Satan. Such *Mysteries* were common in England

<sup>1</sup> Jonathan Birch, Esq., *Faust, a Tragedy*, Part I (London, Leipzig, 1839), p. xi.

two centuries and a half ago, and were exhibited even in polished parts of Germany within the last forty years, consequently long subsequent to the time when this Tragedy was planned. Goethe therefore penned this scene [the "Prologue"] under very different feelings of propriety to those we [English] entertain in 1838: to omit it is impossible, for, besides the sublimity of parts, the whole plot and moral of Faust depend thereon."<sup>1</sup> Birch "masks" the last four lines of the "Prologue" as follows:

From time to time I see the ancient Lord  
Most willingly—and heed to give offence,  
(To the Pit)  
'Tis vastly flattering, on my word,  
For Devil to confab with Omnipotence.<sup>2</sup>

Lewis Filmore, in 1843,<sup>3</sup> does not discuss the propriety question at all, but praises unrestrainedly the unsurpassed beauty and sublimity of the Song of the Archangels at the beginning of the "Prologue," and calls attention to the latter's natural similarity to the Book of Job, where the tempter is given permission to tempt.

After the year 1843 (see Lefèvre), so far as I have been able to determine, there is no revision or omission of the "Prologue" by translators, though this does not always imply a comprehensive interpretation of its meaning, as we shall see later.

Hauhart gives the name of one G. F. Duckett, who made a literal translation of the "Preface" and "Prologue" in 1845, apparently without scruples or apprehension;<sup>4</sup> two years later Captain Charles Henry Knox supplies copious footnotes to the latter in his version of Part I, comparing passages with those of Milton, Dryden, and Shelley. That Miss Anna Swanwick included the scene in heaven in her translation of 1850 may have been due in part to the occasional but sharp criticism against any omission in the Englishing of Goethe, and in part to her own conviction that a translator should "render faithfully even the defects of the original."<sup>5</sup> Miss Swanwick

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> In the Birch manuscript, in the William A. Speck collection of Goethiana in Yale University, the last line is slightly different:

For the Devil to confab—with Omnipotence

<sup>3</sup> Lewis Filmore, *Faust, a Tragedy by Goethe*, London.

<sup>4</sup> *The Reception of Goethe's "Faust" in England*, p. 142.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 132.

regretted the "blemishes" of *Faust*; nevertheless, the much-criticised part is inserted. The English reproductions of 1860 and 1862, by v. Beresford and John Galvan, respectively, that of Theodore Martin, 1865, and that of Charles Hartpole Bowen, 1878 (said to have been done about 1837), contain the "Prologue" with little or no comment. Galvan indicates his knowledge of the biblical analogy to the Book of Job.

George Henry Lewes, in his revised edition of the *Life and Works of Goethe*, 1864, devoted three pages to elucidate and justify the troublesome "Prologue." After a brief reference to the strange misunderstandings of previous commentators, he, also, is obliged to confess that his "first impression was strongly against it; an impression which was only removed by considering the legendary nature of the poem, and the legendary style adopted."<sup>1</sup> Goethe treated this part in the medieval style, like a Miracle Play, where the coarsest buffoonery ran side by side with the most serious lessons; where "things the most sacred are made the subject of jests and stories which would send a shudder through the pious readers of our times."<sup>2</sup> Hence there is no blasphemy intended, Lewes informs his countrymen; it is merely a representation "which uncultured minds naively accepted." "An inferior artist would assuredly have made this Prologue as grand and metaphysical as possible. Goethe intentionally made it naïve.—He was led to write this scene by his study of the older literature, and the source of its inspiration is traceable in this naïveté."<sup>3</sup> Then there are two organic necessities for the "Prologue," Lewes points out: (a) *Faust* is an *individual* soul struggling heavenward, since heaven is the center and goal of all struggles, doubts, and reverence; (b) *Faust* is a drama of temptation which issues from heaven. Lewes believed that both "prologues," as he calls them, were "afterthoughts."

A translator who seems to fathom the deeper meaning of *Faust*, is Thomas E. Webb, a professor at the University of Dublin, whose work appeared in 1880, a banner year for *Faust* translations. Webb calls the drama a "chain of motives." As such it is unquestionably

<sup>1</sup> Everyman's edition, p. 467.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 468.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 469.

a work of art, and the moral, and motives, he rightly contends, are found in the "Prologue in Heaven." Besides, "the only aspect of the Medieval Mystery which it presents is to be found, not in the drama itself, but in the Prologue in Heaven, by which it is preceded."<sup>1</sup> "Though man be wretched and insignificant," Webb continues, "and nature be beautiful and great, yet man possesses what nature never can possess—a conscious, never-ceasing struggle for moral excellence and beauty." Mephisto has no conception of such a struggle, sees only dissatisfaction, believes in the omnipotence of sensual joys, and Faust is delivered over to him for temptation.

We mentioned above that J. S. Blackie castigated the "Prologue" in his first edition of his *Faust* translation and prudently interred it in a postscriptum. By 1880 he thought differently of the "latitudinarian principles," so "peculiar to German Esthetics," resuscitated it in a second edition, and gave it its proper place. He still believed, however, that the second part was aesthetically a "brilliant blunder and magnificent mistake," and that ethically Faust could be saved only according to medieval orthodox Christianity—which, after all, was very accommodating to human weakness—and not according to our own more severe modern views demanding protracted confession, repentance, and amendment. Hence, even for Blackie of 1880 there was still a *moral* dissatisfaction. Yet, he passed a verdict of condemnation on his first edition, regarding it as a "juvenile performance," which had done the best service of which it was capable by teaching him his ignorance.<sup>2</sup>

Evidently, knowledge of Goethe's masterpiece had made noticeable progress in England by this time, for Blackie assures us, incidentally, that the "movement of the original, in all its changes," had long been "as familiar as the responses of the Church Service to a devout Episcopalian."<sup>3</sup>

Whether this is strictly true, is at least doubtful, for in the same year, 1880, another enthusiastic translator, James Adey Birds, is prompted to review the charges against the whole poem and to answer these in a lengthy introduction and explanatory notes. He

<sup>1</sup> Translator's Preface, pp. xx-xxi.

<sup>2</sup> Preliminary (second edition), p. vii.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xii.

admits without reservation that the "Prologue" has been the chief ground for the accusation of blasphemy, and advances a strong line both of old and new arguments refuting the charges. The devil cannot be expected to speak like an orthodox clergyman, says Birds, borrowing from another source, and objections to the language must lie with the character of the objector. "And the same may be said in reply to the other charges of licentiousness and vulgarity. There is no more of either than is necessary to portray the characters and scenes."<sup>1</sup> In other words, it's a plain case of *honi soit qui mal y pense*. As though in a desperate effort to silence adverse criticism, Birds dwells at length upon the various conceptions of the Deity. He interprets the Oriental idea of "der Alte" as the "Ancient of Days." He explains that the anthropomorphic conception of Goethe's creation had to be different from the narrow and limited ideas of Luther's time, and that the poet could not revive the old, low form for his aesthetic purpose. 'Twas time, says Birds, that the English had advanced beyond the idea of God as a "magnified man," as stereotyped in the sculptures and pictures of medieval times. The Deity must be represented as a great and mysterious Spirit or Cause, incapable of adequate representation in any form, and might just for that reason be represented in any way without derogatory intentions. Any form might be selected for a *special purpose*, provided the intention was not to degrade the idea. To quote directly: "The sense of profanity or none in the representation depends upon the degree to which the mind is disengaged from merely Jewish and Medio-Christian conceptions of the Deity. If this be complete, as was the case with Goethe, the mind will be in no danger of confounding the representation with the ideal object of its own worship. To those, then, whose minds are so disengaged, there is no blasphemy in the Prologue, but only a want of reasonableness—excusable, however, on many grounds—in his accusers."<sup>2</sup>

This tactful defense, argumentation, and constructive criticism of an Englishman like Birds, the sincerity, earnestness, enthusiasm, cosmopolitanism, and the desire to illumine and to eradicate the insular prejudices of some of his countrymen commands our undivided respect and gratitude.

<sup>1</sup> *Faust* (London, 1880), p. 81.

<sup>2</sup> Introduction, p. 80.

Yes, English criticism of the "Prologue," as well as of *Faust* in general, had been modified by 1880. Translators were no longer afraid to include this much-maligned portion of Goethe's work. Yet the long and ever recurring explanations of students like Lewes, Blackie, Webb, and Birds show that the process of altering opinions and convincing Englishmen that the scene in heaven was perfectly safe and sound, was an arduous and often ungrateful task. Nor may we infer that the work of mental modification was completed at this date, or that there was any common understanding of the "Prologue." When translators themselves, who would be expected to study the *Faust* problems more diligently than the ordinary folk, continued to go astray in spite of all efforts, honest or otherwise, what could be forthcoming from others? The condition is the more surprising, since we must presuppose also a great number of ardent *verbal* attempts to enlighten the English public by native non-translators whose creditable, persistent recommendations have been recorded. All in all, we are not a little astonished when, again, seventeen years later, we read the extraordinary convictions of R. McClintock.

McClintock is a curious composite, with theories all his own. One hardly knows at times whether to take him seriously or not. His *Faust* translation (Part I, 1897) is generally conceded to have considerable value, particularly its rhythymical form, but his elaborate Introduction is a conundrum, and if we can believe his statements about the "Prologue," then verily he knew not what he was doing. He is blind, inconsistent, strangely original; and many of his comments savor strongly of attempts at smart writing.

McClintock—and this is in 1897—is convinced not only that both the "Prologue" and Part II are afterthoughts, but that no bridge is possible between the two parts. Consequently the "Prologue" has no importance for him as a connective link, but merely as a portion of good verse by itself, a "sheet anchor," as he calls it, for those believing in the internal revolution of Faust. "The Prologue in Heaven," declares McClintock, "fine in itself and for itself, written in 1797, is, as prologue to *Faust*, a mere piece of self-stultification on the part of the author, and was meant to deceive. A picture of titanic man turned to an anthropoid brute was not a thing to

flatter its supposed model. At the same time, the artist was loathe to destroy his own great work. . . . Eighteen years later, the whole drama—pushed to a logical conclusion beyond even the original idea—was given to the world with a prologue pointing strongly in the direction of allegory. A fox-hunter, who had taken in the proceedings, might call it a 'red herring.'"<sup>1</sup>

In the appended notes and comments he takes up the "Prologue" again and expostulates further in an erudite chemical lingo: "That in the quarter of a century which intervened between the planning of the drama and the writing of the Prologue Goethe's ideas had greatly changed may be freely granted. But he himself, and with reference to this very work, has spoken of the difficulty of redissolving in its mother-liquor a precipitate once thrown down. In the case before us, the precipitate crystallised and was deposited before 1775; the matter added in later years was, for the most part, so similar to the original precipitate that its bulk was doubled without appreciable alteration of its chemical properties. At the same time, however, certain small quantities of foreign and dissimilar substances were added. These remain to the critical microscope or acute natural vision, visible as foreign substances, adhering to superficial inequalities, or filling up interstices in the original precipitate which here and there they slightly colour but do not otherwise affect.

"The above amounts to saying that I regard the Prologue in Heaven as a negligible element in the enquiry into the significance of *Faust* as a whole."<sup>2</sup>

But more than that. He criticises all former translations of "der Schalk"—he himself renders it rightly by "wag"—because each is as revolting as the other when placed in the mouth of the Lord of Righteousness. With a tone of self-superiority McClintock harps on the same old theme, and feels a moral terror from the following words of the Lord: "My hatred never burnt 'gainst such as thee;" which to the pious Mr. McClintock is "a deliberate and gratuitous assault on our sentiment of reverence." This in 1897. Somehow the reader cannot help feeling that McClintock alone represents the correct court of judgment from which there is no appeal.

<sup>1</sup> That is, something introduced to deceive, to get the pack of readers off the track, as one might say. Introduction, p. xxxi.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 308–9.

A word about the "Prologue in Heaven" on the English stage. The critic for the London *Times*, presumably John Oxenford, implies in October, 1866, when the question came up of presenting *Faust* on the stage, that the first reason why the drama could not be given was because of its "Prologue," "which would be sure to stick fast in the Lord Chamberlain's office." About the same time J. Halford excuses a burlesque on the subject by pointing to Goethe's parody on the Book of Job. Goethe had, he argued, entirely perverted the Holy Writ; therefore Halford felt he had a perfect right to make a travesty of Goethe's work. But the ignorant Halford had evidently never read either Part II itself or any account of it, for he speaks definitely of "Mephistopheles winning his wager with the 'Lord' by his triumph over Faust."

Although Part II has never been staged in England, in its entirety, a part was used in Arrigo Boito's opera "Mefistofele," which was presented in London, July 6, 1880, with Christine Nilsson, the Swedish prima donna, in the rôle of Marguerite and Helena. This opera opened with a "Prologue in Heaven," which, as Dr. F. D. Carpenter informs us in an unpublished dissertation on *English Stage-Adaptations of Goethe's "Faust"* (accessible in the Yale Library<sup>1</sup>), "had to be modified considerably to conform to English stage decorum."

The first, and so far as I know the only, English stage-adaptation of Goethe's work to contain anything like the real "Prologue in Heaven" was one by Stephen Phillips and J. W. Comyns Carr, produced at His Majesty's Theater in 1908. Here heaven is represented by a range of mountains between the sky and earth, and a serious attempt is made to reproduce the proper effect as closely as possible. As the curtain rises three archangels appear, and a chorus of invisible angels is heard.

Such, in brief, is the story of the "Prologue in Heaven" in England. The variety of attitudes exemplify paramount dissimilarities of cultural conceptions between the English and the German people and between the English themselves. It serves, too, as a kind of barometer for certain unique traits of English character.

<sup>1</sup> The William A. Speck collection of Goethe literature contains a practically complete series of English *Faust* translations and stage-adaptations.

Other nationalities have not been offended at Goethe's famous scene, then why the British? Some reasons have been indicated or intimated in this paper. It is not simply a case of deep-seated prejudice or ignorance, or unwillingness to investigate. Other students have already pointed out the lack of aesthetic education in England at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the low level of literary criticism, the want of philosophical breadth, and the confusion of ethics and aesthetics which led to moralizing in judging works of art.<sup>1</sup> Then there are undoubtedly striking peculiarities in the English system of education in general, which tend to make Englishmen naturally sit in judgment upon the world's masterpieces, and without any evil intentions. Many Britons *could* not understand or countenance the "Prologue," whether they would or no. One fact is demonstrated: there *was* and *is*, as Blackie tells us, a difference, either inherited or acquired, between the English and German mind, training, and moral constitution. Whatever the reasons, the disposition toward the "Prologue in Heaven" forms an interesting chapter in the psychology of English aesthetic criticism.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hauhart, *op. cit.*, pp. 22 ff., and notes.



## GUSTAVO ADOLFO BECQUER AS "POETA" AND HIS KNOWLEDGE OF HEINE'S "LIEDER"

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Since his death, Becquer's name has been associated chiefly with his "Rimas,"<sup>1</sup> and the belief has become fixed that he was known as *poeta* to his contemporaries also.

There are two reasons for the general belief that Becquer published his "Rimas" like any other *poeta*, and that he strove through them for recognition as such. The first of these is erroneously based on Becquer's own statement in one of his "Cartas desde mi Celda,"<sup>2</sup> where he voices such ambition, though, if rightly read, it is only the musing of the enthusiastic youth while still in his native Seville.

The other reason lies in the misstatements made by almost every one of his biographers and critics regarding the sources of the "Rimas" which form a part of his *Obras*. They all<sup>3</sup> state from lack of knowledge of the facts (if they speak of it at all) that Becquer's friends, after his untimely death, gathered his poems, legends, tales, etc., from the periodicals to which he had been a contributor. But the fact is that his friends did not gather the "Rimas" from periodicals, but found them all neatly entered in manuscript among

<sup>1</sup> E. W. Olmsted, *Legends, Tales and Poems by Gustavo Adolfo Becquer* (Ginn & Co., New York, 1907), p. xxxiv: "Beautiful as Becquer's prose may be considered, however, the universal opinion is that his claim to lasting fame rests on his verse."

<sup>2</sup> Becquer's *Obras*, 7th ed., II (Madrid, 1911), 226 ff.

<sup>3</sup> F. Blanco García: *La Literatura Española en el Siglo XIX*, II (Madrid, 1891), 85 ff., lays the foundation for this general misconception by stating: "Además, las *Canciones de Florentino Sanz*, y una de las primeras versiones del *Intermesso*, se insertaron en el *Museo Universal*, revista en que colaboraba Becquer, y donde publicó sus Rimas." Olmsted, *op. cit.*, p. xxviii: "Thanks to the initiative of Ramón Rodríguez Correa and to the aid of other friends, most of the scattered tales, legends, and poems of Becquer were gathered together and published by Fernando Fe, Madrid, in three small volumes." Julio Nombela, *Impresiones y Recuerdos* (Madrid, 1909-12), III, 453, 4 vols., independently contributed to this legend by stating outright: "Una comisión se encargó de buscar en los periódicos en que había escrito sus poesías, leyendas, críticas y demás trabajos literarios." And very recently Juan López Núñez, in his book on *Becquer—Biografía anecdótica* (Madrid, 1915), p. 115, encourages this erroneous belief by saying: "Coincidiendo con los artículos y críticas en el *Museo Universal* publicados, insertó varias poesías en todos los números." Mary A. (Mrs. Humphrey) Ward must be excepted, for she states in her thoughtful article "A Spanish Romanticist," *Macmillan's Magazine*, February, 1883, pp. 310-11: "Before his death . . . he had tried to collect and revise his published articles, adding to them his poems, the majority of which were then unprinted. . . ."

Becquer's papers. This manuscript, called by him "El Libro de los Gorriones," has since been lying, forgotten by all, in the Manuscript Department of the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid. It bears the number 13216, and was found by the writer in the spring of 1914.<sup>1</sup>

This "Libro de los Gorriones" is a well-bound cashbook, cloth, about 8×12 inches in size, has plain ruling, and its 600 pages are numbered consecutively in large printed figures. The first page bears the title:

Libro de los Gorriones

followed by the significant words:

Coleccion de proyectos, argumentos, ideas y planes de cosas  
diferentes que se concluiran o no segun sople el viento.

Written neatly below, on the lower half of the page, one finds:

De  
Gustavo Adolfo Claudio D. Becquer  
1868  
Madrid 17 J<sup>no</sup>.

The pages 2–4 are left blank, to be followed on pages 5–7 by the well-known "Introduccion," here called "Introduccion Sinfonica." Then comes the fragment "La mujer de Piedra" covering pages 9–19. This is all the prose Becquer entered in this book, the pages up to and including page 528 being left blank. Then, pages 529–31, we come upon an "Indice de las Rimas." To the left of the heading, in the margin, are written the words "No. de las Rimas," and to the right, likewise in the margin, the words "No. de versos." The "Rimas" themselves are listed by their first lines, the pages on which they are to be found not being given. The text of the "Rimas" has no heading except three little crosses in triangular arrangement (x x x). Page 532 is left free, and on page 533, covering the larger part of the page, there is pasted a pencil sketch of a neglected and overgrown cloister garden, showing in the background the dilapidated cloister, in the belfry of which the *gorriones* are undisputed masters. Page 534 again is left free, and on page 535 we find the short title for the poems entered in the pages following:

Rimas  
de  
Gustavo Adolfo Becquer

<sup>1</sup> F. Schneider, *Gustavo Adolfo Becquers Leben und Schaffen unter besonderer Betonung des chronologischen Elementes*, Doctor's dissertation, Leipzig, 1914, p. 22.

Page 537 brings the significant remark:

Poesias que recuerdo del libro perdido.

The "Rimas" fill the rest of the 600 pages, the last line of the last "Rima" ending on the last line of the last page.

The handwriting bespeaks great care and neatness, being even and clear throughout. Corrections were made in some places, but only by first erasing the old text very carefully and then filling in the new neatly in its stead. The manuscript shows many rougher corrections; but these were made by a later hand and in such a businessalike way that we must hold one of the editors of the posthumous *Obras* responsible for it. Often two or three lines are crossed out with ink and ruler and the substitutions made without apparent hesitancy.<sup>1</sup> It is to be noted that all these later corrections, with one exception,<sup>2</sup> are present in the "Rimas" of the *Obras* as the world knows them, and it is therefore indisputable that this manuscript book served as their source and basis.

Yet there are some differences between the manuscript and the text of the *Obras*, none of which are indicated in the manuscript. To explain these discrepancies we must assume that further changes were made in the copy before going to press. Of the 76 "Rimas" of the *Obras*, half differ more or less from the text of the manuscript, and of these differences about three-fourths had been entered in the manuscript.<sup>3</sup>

The manuscript has, however, 79 "Rimas" instead of only 76. Three had been suppressed, the third one of these even being crossed out diagonally with ink and ruler by an energetic hand. The reason for this suppression is quite evident: their tone was too bitter and ironical; and Becquer was to be presented to the world in his more

<sup>1</sup> Becquer himself would have been quite incapable of such a procedure, as can be seen from his own statements on a similar occasion. When his friend and fellow-worker, Federico Ruiz, had suddenly died, an unfinished sketch by this young artist was published in the *Museo Universal* (No. 7, February 15, 1868) in his memory. Becquer wrote the accompanying text in beautifully simple and touching language, closing by saying: "Tal cual la dejó (el artista—la interrumpida obra) la ofrecemos hoy . . . Concluiría, hubiera sido en cierto modo profanaria. ¡Quién aun sintiéndose capaz, no hubiera temido en algún punto sentir algo invisible que le detenia la mano para decirle: 'No: no es eso lo que yo quería hacer?'"

<sup>2</sup> F. Schneider, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-26.

<sup>3</sup> A number of these different versions have been reproduced in F. Schneider, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-70.

congenial aspect of grave and sentimental dreamer. These three "Rimas" read as follows:<sup>1</sup>

MS page 569:

× ×

Dices que tienes corazon y solo  
lo dices porque sientes sus latidos;  
eso no es corazon . . . es una maquina  
que al compas que se mueve hace ruido.

MS page 572:

× ×

Fingiendo realidades  
con sombra vana  
delante del Deseo  
va la Esperanza.

Y sus mentiras  
como el Fenix renacen  
de sus cenizas.

MS page 575:<sup>2</sup>

× ×

Una mujer me ha envenenado el alma  
otra mujer me ha envenenado el cuerpo  
ninguna de las dos vino a buscarme .  
yo de ninguna de las dos me quejo.

Como el mundo es redondo el mundo rueda.  
Si mañana, rodando, este veneno  
envenena a su vez ¿porque acusarme ?  
¿ Puedo dar mas de lo que a mi me dieron ?

Another great liberty taken by the editors of the posthumous *Obras*, and not known to any of the critics of Becquer, is the complete change made in the sequence of the various "Rimas." Becquer's sequence is reprinted here from pages 66-67 of the writer's Doctor's dissertation, *op. cit.*, published during the war, written in German, and for these reasons not generally accessible. To save space, only the numbers are given, the Arabic numeral corresponding to Becquer's

<sup>1</sup> Becquer almost never wrote an accent, not even in cases like *dejé*, nor did he write commas and periods.

<sup>2</sup> What an important part misinformation and guesswork have played in all discussions of Becquer's life and works is well illustrated by the following statement regarding this "Rima," found in López Núñez' recent book, *op. cit.*, p. 128: "Estos versos fueron escritos por Gustavo Adolfo Becquer días antes de morir, con destino a "La Correspondencia Literaria," y no han sido recogidos por los recopiladores de sus obras."

"Indice," the Roman numeral giving the place of the respective "Rima" in the *Obras*.<sup>1</sup>

1—XLVIII	21—XXI	41—LX	61—LXVIII
2—XLVII	22—XXIII	42—III	62—V
3—XLV	23—LXXV	43—XVI	63—XXVII
4—XXXVIII	24—LXXIV	44— <sup>2</sup>	64—LXIV
5—LXXII	25—VIII	45—LXI	65—XXXIV
6—XVIII	26—XLI	46—X	66—XL
7—XXVI	27—IX	47—LXV	67—LXVI
8—LVIII	28—XXXVII	48— <sup>3</sup>	68—LXIII
9—LV	29—XIII	49—LXIX	69—XXXIII
10—XLIV	30—XXXI	50—XVII	70—LI
11—I	31—XXV	51—XI	71—LXXIII
12—L	32—LVII	52—XIX	72—XIV
13—VII	33—XXIV	53—XXIX	73—XXXII
14—XLIX	34—XLIII	54—XXXVI	74—LXXVI
15—II	35—LII	55— <sup>4</sup>	75—XXXIX
16—XLII	36—LIV	56—LXII	76—LXXI
17—LIX	37—XX	57—VI	77—XLVI
18—LXVII	38—LIII	58—XXVIII	78—XXXV
19—XXII	39—IV	59—LXX	79—XII
20—LVI	40—XXX	60—XV	

But very few of these "Rimas" were known before Becquer's death. The examination of a considerable number of periodicals and dailies of that time<sup>5</sup> disclosed the fact that Becquer published in his lifetime little more than a dozen poems. These were distributed as follows:

*Rima XIII*<sup>6</sup> in 1859 in *El Nene*.

*Rima XXIII* in 1861 in *El Contemporaneo*; republished in 1866 in *El Museo Universal*.

<sup>1</sup> The 76 "Rimas" have been reproduced alike in all the different editions, the last one being the seventh, Madrid, 1911. Correction may be added here of a statement made by Professor Olmsted, *op. cit.*, p. xviii, quoted previously in note to page 1. The first edition appeared in two volumes only and was published by Fortanet, Madrid, 1871. Fernando Fe subsequently bought the publishing rights from Becquer's widow and published all the other editions, of which the second and third likewise had only two volumes. The growth of the various editions is tabulated in F. Schneider, *op. cit.*, pp. 63–64. Nothing was added to the sixth and seventh editions, notwithstanding the subtitle of the sixth (1907), "edición aumentada con varias poesías."

<sup>2</sup> The suppressed "Rima": "Dices que tienes corazon y solo."

<sup>3</sup> The suppressed "Rima": "Fingiendo realidades."

<sup>4</sup> The suppressed "Rima": "Una mujer me ha envenenado el alma."

<sup>5</sup> F. Schneider, *op. cit.*, "Literaturverzeichnis," pp. vii–viii.

<sup>6</sup> The numbers of the "Rimas" are those of the published *Obras*.

*Rima LXI*<sup>1</sup> in 1861 in *Album de Poesías del Almanaque del Museo Universal*  
*Rima XXVII* in 1863 in *La Gaceta literaria*.  
*Rima V* in 1866, January 28, in *El Museo Universal*.  
*Rima XI* in 1866, February 11, *ibid.*  
*Rima XV* in 1866, March 4, *ibid.*  
*Rima XXIV* in 1866, March 18, *ibid.*  
*Rima II* in 1866, April 8, *ibid.*  
*Rima XVI* in 1866, May 13, *ibid.*  
*Rima LXIX* in 1866, September 9, *ibid.*  
*Rima XXIII* in 1866, September 23, *ibid.* (published before in 1861 in  
*El Contemporaneo*).  
*Rima IV* in 1870 in *Ilustración de Madrid* bearing the note: "de un  
libro inédito."

A dozen poems, scattered over a period of ten years, would have been hard to find for publication in his posthumous *Obras*. Nor could they have given to anyone the reputation of being a *poeta*, buried as they were among hundreds of other poems of all descriptions. The shortness of some of these compositions also might have militated, in a measure, against him. Not that they were anything new in Spanish prosody: the short composition was an age-long possession of the Spanish people, but it stayed with the plain folk. "Poetry" proper, in Becquer's time, had to be grandiloquent, sonorous, and ambitious in length. Even Menéndez y Pelayo,<sup>2</sup> a decade or two later, speaking of Heine's "Lieder," states that at first he could find little liking for these short compositions because he had been educated to look upon poetry as plastic art, not as music.

But why did Becquer publish so few of his "Rimas"? It certainly was not through lack of opportunity. From his twenty-fourth year on up to the time of his death Becquer had many opportunities to insert his poems in one publication or another. The reason why he failed to do so lay in the fact that he had other aims than to reap fame as *poeta*. Only in his early youth, as mentioned before, while still in his native Seville, did he strive and hope for undying poetical laurels. After reaching Madrid in 1854, barely eighteen years old, these dreams, as he himself tells us,<sup>3</sup> soon disappeared.

<sup>1</sup> This bears the significant caption by way of motto: "Es muy triste morir joven y no contar con una sola lágrima de mujer."

<sup>2</sup> In the "Prologo," pp. v-vi, to José J. Herrera's translation of Heine, *Poemas y Fantasías de Enrique Heine*, Madrid, 1883.

<sup>3</sup> *Obras*, II, 230, in his third "Carta desde mi celda."

Not that his poetical ambition left him: it never left him. He merely turned from poetry in verse to poetry in prose, in which he combined with his longing for beauty his unbounded devotion to his beloved Spain. The accidents of his outer life forced different means of expression upon him at different times; but inwardly he was possessed by that same spirit. His first enterprise in this new sphere was his most ambitious one: it was his *Historia de los Templos de España*, published in collaboration with others<sup>1</sup> in the year 1857. Evidently inspired by Chateaubriand's *Le génie du christianisme*, it became his ambition to interpret the great architectural treasures of Catholic Spain, to portray the grandeur of the spirit that sought and found expression in these poems carved in stone, and incidentally to stem the evergrowing tide of skepticism. This book is very rare and little known.<sup>2</sup>

During the next few years, Becquer had to undergo much physical suffering and consequent want, for he was poor; but when his health grew stronger, his artistic will asserted itself anew. This time it found expression in the artistic retelling of the tales and legends which he had heard while wandering with his brother Valeriano, the painter, through the rural districts of Northern Spain; for he was passionately fond of everything typically Spanish.

An investigation of the facts<sup>3</sup> disclosed that most, if not all, of his legends were published in the *Contemporaneo* from the time he joined its staff in 1860 until it became absorbed by the *Crónica* in 1865. When Becquer thereupon became a member of the staff of the *Museo Universal*, his artistic will was given a slightly different direction. Here it was one of his duties to write companion articles to sketches by collaborating artists. The illustrations with their articles were an important part of each issue, and they depicted generally some characteristic phase of the picturesque life of the plain people. These new aims and duties seem to have suited Becquer's artistic purposes quite well, for no legend is found to have been published by him after he entered upon this new work. On the other hand, when in the year 1869 Becquer was made the director

<sup>1</sup> F. Schneider, *op. cit.*, pp. 15 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The only copy the writer was able to find in Madrid was in the private library of his Excellency D. Francisco de Laiglesia, an old friend of Becquer's.

<sup>3</sup> F. Schneider, *op. cit.*, tables, pp. 63-66.

of the newly founded "Illustración de Madrid," he continued, in collaboration with his brother Valeriano, the kind of work he had been doing while on the staff of the *Museo Universal*.

In these endeavors, then, lay Becquer's main interest and ambition, not in the writing of poetry. Contemporary evidence bears this out, for in reviews of current poetic productions, published in the literary sections of many journals throughout his life, Becquer was never mentioned, while his friends and companions were discussed at length and saw their poems lauded. To what degree material considerations determined his activities belongs to another study.

When reviewing the published opinions regarding Heinrich Heine's influence upon Becquer, one notes the curious fact that all critics,<sup>1</sup> except the brothers Alvarez Quintero, admit a more or less striking resemblance between the "Rimas" and the "Lieder," but are at a loss to explain when and where and to what extent Becquer came to know Heine's poetry. The brothers Alvarez Quintero peremptorily deny any such influence, saying: "Hay quien ha pretendido oscurecer la diáfana gloria de Becquer, haciendo pasar sobre ella una ligera nube; motejándolo de imitador de E. Heine. Nada más injusto ni más inexacto tampoco."<sup>2</sup>

That Becquer knew Heine through French media, as suggested by Mrs. Humphrey Ward,<sup>3</sup> is most likely, for he read French. Had it not been his duty some time during his first year in Madrid (1854), while on the staff of the recently founded *Porvenir*, to gather from French journals what might interest the Spanish public?<sup>4</sup>

But the French translation of Heine's poems was merely a paraphrasing of them in prose; they could not have influenced Becquer much, however charming these prose renderings may have seemed to the cultured reader.<sup>5</sup> At best they could have given

<sup>1</sup> Correa in the "Prólogo" to Becquer's *Obras*, II (ed. 1911), 25, 36; Mary A. Ward, *op. cit.*, pp. 315 ff.; Rafael M. Merchán, *Estudios Críticos*, Bogotá, 1886, pp. 455, 458 ff.; Blanco García, *op. cit.*, pp. 85 ff.; Juan Valera, *Florilegio de Poesías Castellanas del Siglo XIX*, I (Madrid, 1902), 188; Olmsted, *op. cit.*, pp. xxxvii—xxxviii.

<sup>2</sup> Alvarez Quintero, Serafín y Joaquín, *Obras Escogidas de Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer*, Edición del Monumento, Madrid y Sevilla, 1912, p. ix.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 320.

<sup>4</sup> F. Schneider, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

<sup>5</sup> Théophile Gautier, *Portraits et Souvenirs*, "Heine," Paris, 1875, p. 121, says of them: "Nous ne savons pas l'allemand, il est vrai, et n'avons pu l'admirer qu'à travers la traduction; mais quel homme doit être celui qui, dénué du rythme, de la rime, de l'heureux arrangement des mots, de tout ce qui fait le style enfin, produit encore des effets si magnifiques!"

Becquer new pictures and conceits; yet it is particularly in these respects that Heine's influence is least apparent.

More important for our quest is the fact that there existed in Spain throughout these years a more than casual interest in German literature. This is proved by a great deal of uncollected evidence. Scattered through the "Variedades" and "Folletones" of even some political dailies, one frequently finds translations, adaptations, and reviews of Lessing, Schiller, Goethe, and others. Of Heine, to be sure, there was little mention. Some of his "Lieder" appeared in an excellent metrical translation by Eulogio Florentino Sanz in the *Museo Universal*, May 15, 1857, under the title "Poesía Alemana—Canciones de Enrique Heine"; but this selection contained but fifteen in all, ten of which were from the "Lyrisches Intermezzo."

The most ambitious attempt to make German literature known in Spain was *La Abeja*—"Revista científica y literaria, principalmente extractada de los buenos escritores alemanes"—which was published in Barcelona from 1862 to 1865. German literature from Klopstock, Lessing, and Herder down to Freiligrath and Rückert was represented either in translations or adaptations or mere summaries. A prominent place in one of its first numbers was given to Heine, of whose writings appeared about twenty "Lieder" taken from the "Intermezzo" and the "Nordseebilder"; they were translated by Juan Font y Guitar, who also translated Uhland in a later issue. The Preface<sup>1</sup> by the translator is instructive, for there he states that E. F. Sanz was his sole precursor in translating Heine, confirming thereby the findings of the writer<sup>2</sup> when looking through the periodicals of that epoch on file in Madrid. The "Canciones de Enrique Heine" in the *Abeja* of 1862 were followed by the "Intermezzo"—"Poema de Enrique Heine"—translated by Mariano Gil Sanz and published May 5, 1867, in the *Museo Universal*.

This translation, together with the one by Florentino Sanz (1857), has been looked upon by most critics as having probably suggested

<sup>1</sup> This Preface reads: "Por otra parte, Heine, más que Schiller, Goethe y otros poetas alemanes, es casi enteramente desconocido en nuestro país; casi, decimos, porque hace algún tiempo que el distinguido poeta D. Florentino Sanz . . . dió, en un número del 'Museo Universal' algunas muestras de la musa de Heine."

<sup>2</sup> The writer's searches discovered but one other "Lied" of Heine. It was No. XIV of the "Intermezzo," beginning "Auf meiner Herzliebsten Augelein," translated by Angel M. Decarate and published first in the *Crónica*, October, 1858, then reprinted over the same signature in the *Almanaque literario del Museo Universal* for the year 1860.

to Becquer his "Rima" type of composition. The prevailing view of this matter is adequately expressed by Professor Olmsted,<sup>1</sup> who bases his statements upon Blanco García (*op. cit.*, p. 86), and Mrs. Ward (*op. cit.*, p. 316):

His [Becquer's] poetry has often been compared to that of Heine, whom he is said to have imitated. Becquer did not in fact read German; but in *El Museo Universal*, for which he was a collaborator, and in which he published his "Rimas," there appeared one of the first versions of the "Intermezzo," and it is not unlikely that in imitation of the "Intermezzo" he was led to string his "Rimas" like beads upon the connecting thread of a common autobiographical theme.

The facts established in the preceding part show that it cannot be said that Becquer "published his 'Rimas' in the *Museo Universal*," when he published there but eight in all, nor can it be said that "he was led to string his 'Rimas' like beads upon the connecting thread of a common autobiographical theme" when he had nothing to do with the sequence taken as the basis for this speculation. It is further to be noted that this translation did not appear until 1867, the year *after* Becquer had published some of his "Rimas," and evidently came too late to have influenced Becquer in his artistic development. The complete lack of chronological facts regarding Becquer's life and works only too readily led to such erroneous generalities and implications.

The excellent translation by Eulogio Florentino Sanz (1857) is more acceptable as a possible source of influence. In fact, Julio Nombela, an old friend of Becquer's and his companion at that time, assured me orally in 1914 that both he and Becquer, upon the appearance of this translation, set immediately to imitating Heine.<sup>2</sup> This claim finds rather weak support by an offhand statement in López Núñez' book<sup>3</sup> to the effect that Becquer's first "Rimas" were written in 1858. Stronger evidence is found in the fact that Becquer published a poem of the "Rima" type in the year 1859.<sup>4</sup> A few extant

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. xxxvii.

<sup>2</sup> In his "Impresiones y Recuerdos," *op. cit.*, III, 375, he says, however: ". . . charlamos [he and Becquer] . . . de las Rimas, que en su mayor parte había escrito en los años 1860 y 1861, de las que me recitó algunas que me encantaron."

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 36.

<sup>4</sup> It is Rima XIII, published in *El Nene*, Vol. I, No. 1 (December 3, 1859). Meter and wording differ slightly from the text given in MS and *Obra*; the variants are listed in F. Schneider, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

poems of the year 1855 and earlier<sup>1</sup> are of the conventional ode or sonnet type, a fact which seems to indicate that somewhere between 1855 and 1859 Becquer's conversion to the "Rima" type took place. The year 1857, in which Sanz's translation appeared, would fit quite nicely into this theory.

But until further investigations have produced more evidence in support of this assumption, the year 1860 seems more likely to be the one in which Becquer came into closer contact with Heine, not merely in translation, but in the original. The year 1860 was not too late, for Becquer was then only twenty-four years of age, still very impressionable, and with no definite program of work. The chief witness for my case is Becquer himself.

In his review of "La Soledad"—"Colección de Cantares por Augusto Ferrán y Forniés," published in the *Contemporaneo*, January 20, 1861—Becquer makes a strong plea for the simple and concise form in poetry against the long and wordy kind. This grandiloquent and majestic style he calls "la poesía de todo el mundo,"—the poetry of everyone—for it explains itself, while the short composition to him is "la poesía de los poetas," because its few chords gain meaning only if the reader or listener is himself poet enough to respond from within.

This latter kind, Becquer thereupon points out, has become in Germany, more than elsewhere, a recognized vessel for poetic thought and sentiment. Germany's greatest poets, Goethe, Schiller, Uhland, Heine, he says, not only wrote in this new form, but actually prided themselves on their compositions of this type.<sup>2</sup> Becquer expresses the hope that a Spanish poet may equally succeed in raising the level of the *copla*, as had been done in Germany with the *Volkslied*; and he believes that the author of the book which he is reviewing is well qualified to do so on account of his "liberal literary education, his knowledge of the German poets, and his special study of the folksong."<sup>3</sup>

These statements of Becquer gain still deeper significance when there is added to them what can be learned about the author of "La Soledad" and the relation of these two men to one another.

<sup>1</sup> They are reprinted in F. Schneider, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-74.

<sup>2</sup> *Obras*, II, 106.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 108.

Through Julio Nombela's chatty "Impresiones y Recuerdos," 1911,<sup>1</sup> we learn that Ferrán had lived in Munich from about 1855 to 1859 in order to study German. During his extended stay there Ferrán became an ardent admirer of German literature and of Heine in particular, for Heine suited his temperament admirably. The practical proof of Ferrán's enthusiasm was that upon his return to Madrid in 1859 he founded a literary periodical, *El Sábado*, which was to introduce German literature into Spain. At the same time Ferrán collected Spanish *coplas*, in direct imitation, it seems, of Clemens and Brentano's *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*.

Becquer met this enthusiastic admirer of German literature in August, 1860, a few months before his review of Ferrán's book, and the two are reported to have become fast friends immediately upon meeting, Becquer dining often at Ferrán's bohemian quarters.<sup>2</sup> Becquer's review of Ferrán's book, then, was a very personal matter, and the views expressed therein were the views and aims of Ferrán himself. Ferrán, in turn, brought Becquer into contact with the German poets, particularly with Heine; and such contact, intensified by Ferrán's enthusiasm, could not but make a deep impression upon Becquer's poetic nature. The situation, it seems, is quite similar to that described by Heine regarding his translator, Gérard de Nerval. Heine says in the Introduction to the "Intermezzo" and "La Mer du Nord" of the French edition of his works:<sup>3</sup> "Cette âme (de Nerval) était essentiellement sympathique, et sans comprendre beaucoup la langue allemande, Gérard devinait mieux le sens d'une poésie écrite en allemand, que ceux qui avaient fait de cet idiome l'étude de toute leur vie."

If we may assume that Becquer very similarly obtained his knowledge of Heine through his poetic sensibilities rather than through intellectual processes, a reasonable explanation is afforded of the puzzling fact that, without any tangible coincidence, there is such a clear poetic correspondence between the "Rimas" and the "Lieder."

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<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, II, 443, and III, 92.

<sup>2</sup> López Núñez, *op. cit.*, pp. 146-47.

<sup>3</sup> Henri Heine, *Poèmes et Légends*, Paris (Calmann-Lévy), 1900, p. vii.

## THE SOURCES OF THE STORY OF SESOSTRIS ET TIMARETE IN LE GRAND CYRUS

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Interest in Mlle de Scudéry's interminable *Grand Cyrus* centers almost entirely in the picture it gives of seventeenth-century polite society. So absorbing is its portrayal of salon and court, of academician and *précieuse*, that, with the exception of those stories which embody details of contemporary history, students have generally neglected the intricate and romantic plots that form the narrative element of the novel, regarding them as a necessary but uninspiring part of the work. Victor Cousin, in his valuable study,<sup>1</sup> proceeded upon this assumption. There are, according to him, two sorts of stories in the *Grand Cyrus*: those dealing with real characters carefully portrayed which are generally based upon authentic incidents; and those introduced to defend a moral thesis dear to Mlle de Scudéry, which are entirely fictitious and contain only vague portraits. Cousin, who was interested in the history of seventeenth-century society rather than in literature as such, confined his efforts to a critical analysis of the historical and social information contained in the novel and passed over without comment the entirely fictitious narratives.

It was altogether fitting for Cousin to limit his researches in this manner, but the serious student of seventeenth-century literature can hardly dispose of the narratives in the *Grand Cyrus* in this offhand fashion. Mlle de Scudéry surely did not invent all of the complicated plots that form the fabric of her romance, nor could she have manufactured them solely from contemporary history and intrigue. She must have utilized, more or less extensively, literary sources. But what sources? The earlier novels, popular tragi-comedies, Spanish and Italian originals, the traditions of classical antiquity? We know—for she acknowledges it herself<sup>2</sup>—that she was profoundly influenced by such stories as *Théagène et Chariclee* and the *Astrée*;

<sup>1</sup> *La Société Française au 17<sup>e</sup> siècle d'après le Grand Cyrus de Mlle de Scudéry*, 1858.

<sup>2</sup> Conrart, *Mémoires*, p. 613. Cited by Rathery et Boutron: *Mlle de Scudéry, sa vie et sa correspondance*, Paris, Techner, 1873, p. 8.

we know that she was familiar with both the Spanish and Italian languages and interested in their literatures; that her brother, George, who perhaps suggested some of the plots of the *Grand Cyrus*, was thoroughly versed in the dramatic productions of his time. Moreover, the popularity of Spanish literature in France was becoming more and more marked and authors were quite generally pillaging Spanish *comedias* and novels in search of new plots and situations. It is fair to suppose that Mlle de Scudéry was not entirely uninfluenced by the literary trend of the period and it is at least possible that a careful examination of the *Grand Cyrus* from this point of view might bring to light valuable information concerning the composition of the novel itself and perhaps add an interesting chapter to the history of comparative literature in the seventeenth century.

The story of *Sesostris et Timarète* in the sixth volume<sup>1</sup> furnishes an excellent subject for such a study. Although it has one of the most interesting and most striking plots in the whole work, its source has remained unknown and its portraits unidentified. Cousin, rejecting a proposed identification of Sesostris with Sarasin, had no suggestion of his own to offer.<sup>2</sup> Mr. H. Carrington Lancaster, after noting several points of similarity between this story and Du Ryer's tragi-comedy, *Bérénice*, concludes that the novel is evidently not based upon the play and thinks that both may come from a common source as yet undiscovered.<sup>3</sup> In the present paper an attempt will be made to solve this problem, as far as the *Grand Cyrus* is concerned, showing that the principal source of *Sesostris et Timarète* is *Los Prados de Leon*, a comedy by Lope de Vega; the story of which, modified by certain details, probably drawn from the *Bérénice* of Du Ryer, has been adapted to a setting furnished by Herodotus. It will be pointed out, incidentally, that Du Ryer's play resembles only vaguely the Spanish comedy and probably comes from some other source unknown to us.

Like all the other tales in the *Grand Cyrus*, *Sesostris et Timarète* is not primarily a story, but a picture of precious society and a handbook of true love and friendship, treating some of the moral problems that were favorite topics for discussion in the salons of the day. To

<sup>1</sup> *Artamène ou Le Grand Cyrus*, Paris, Courbe, 1654, Part VI, Book 2, pp. 287-474.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, ed. Paris, Perrin, 1895, I, 188, 190, and II, 195.

<sup>3</sup> *Pierre du Ryer Dramatist*, Washington, Carnegie Institution, 1912, p. 134.

Mlle de Scudéry and to contemporary readers the plot of a story was essential and interesting only in so far as it offered situations illustrative of some theory of which they were fond. Such a plot *Los Prados de Leon* furnished, rich in delicate situations and suggestive of endless discussions. Eliminating the charming embroidery of precious conversation, which, though of real interest, does not concern us at this time, omitting the countless irrelevant details, which in the novel serve to bring out every aspect of the moral problems confronting the two lovers, we shall find that in every essential episode the story of *Sesostris et Timarète* follows with absolute fidelity the action of the Spanish play.

The scene of *Sesostris et Timarète* is laid in ancient Egypt. Apriez, the king, has a child four years of age, whose name is Sesostris. Amasis, his lieutenant general, has risen from the rank of simple courtier to that of an influential personage, largely through the protection of a friend of the queen, Ladice, to whom he is secretly married. When the story opens, Apriez is engaged in war against the Cyrenians, by whom he is thoroughly beaten. His troops blame him for the defeat and revolt against him, and, when Amasis is sent to parley with them, acclaim him as their king, despite his half-hearted protestations. Thereupon Apriez dispatches Patarbenis, a noble of distinction, with orders to arrest or to kill Amasis, and when Patarbenis reports that he has failed in his mission, causes him to be put to death. By this act of violence Apriez alienates those subjects who still remained faithful to him, and in the battle that ensues his mercenaries are easily vanquished and he himself slain by his former soldiers. Amasis takes possession of the government; but the queen and her infant son make their escape, accompanied by Ladice, who has already warned her husband that she will not live with a traitor.

The queen and her little band seek refuge with shepherds in an island in the Nile, where Ladice, who was pregnant at the time of the revolt, gives birth to a daughter, whom she names Timarète. Shortly afterward, the queen and Ladice are carried off by a fever, leaving the two children to be brought up by the shepherds under the direction of Amenophis, a noble devoted to their interests. Ladice has previously intrusted to Amenophis a wax tablet, establishing the identity of the two children and warning Amasis to yield the

throne to the rightful heir. Sesostris and Timarète, ignorant of their real status, grow up together in close affection which ripens into love. But Aménophis, who is plotting to overthrow the government in favor of Sesostris, does not look with favor upon their projected union and removes Timarète from the island. Sesostris, unwilling to endure pastoral life without Timarète, soon makes his escape, and, under the assumed name of Psammetite, takes service with Simandius, the leader of the king's forces, and by his exploits attracts the attention of Amasis, who bids him to come to the court. Learning, however, that Timarète has returned to their island, he obtains permission to defer his visit to the king and goes post-haste to Timarète, who, though overjoyed to behold her lover again at her feet, is too much of a *précieuse* to yield to his entreaties to elope with her.

In the meantime, all has not been well with Amasis. Despised at first because of his lowly birth, he has finally succeeded by upright conduct in making himself honored as a king, if not respected as a man. But the throne has not brought him the pleasure he had anticipated. Omens and oracles have menaced him; visions of Ladice have troubled his dreams, bringing threats of impending blindness unless he gives up the crown to the heir of Apriez—threats that are beginning to be realized, for his sight is fast leaving him. And now rumors concerning the existence of this heir are confirmed in a striking way. The wax tablet left by Ladice falls into his hands, but broken in such a way that he does not know whether he has a son or a daughter. "Je vous laisse un . . . , " it reads, "que vous ne verrez jamais, si vous ne rendez pas le sceptre au jeune Sesostris." In this dilemma, he determines that his child, whether son or daughter, shall have the throne, and promises, if a daughter, to give her to his general, Héracléon (son of Simandius), and if a son, to marry him to Liserine, sister of Héracléon. The search for the missing child finally brings the king to the retreat of Sesostris, where the shepherd, Traseas, who has learned the identity of his protégés and who fears for the life of Sesostris, swears that he is the son of Ladice, that the queen's son died of a contagious disease, and that Timarète is his own (Traseas') child. Simandius recognizes Sesostris as the brave Psammetite and the unearthing of jewels belonging to

the queen and Ladice confirms the shepherd's story. The king is overjoyed at the discovery of his son, but Sesostris follows him sorrowfully, for he still loves Timarète and regrets this elevation to high rank which seems to render his marriage to her impossible.

Plans for the union of Sesostris and Liserine are made at once, to the delight of that ambitious lady and to the despair of Sesostris, who declares to Timarète that he will leave the court rather than wed another, an offer that Timarète generously refuses. Héracléon, who has fallen in love with Timarète and who is also ambitious for power, seeks to delay the ceremony, obtains possession of the missing piece of the broken tablet, learns that Timarète is the daughter of Amasis, threatens the shepherd, Traseas, to such good effect that he admits that Sesostris—for whose safety he is still concerned—is his own (Traseas') son. The king, who has taken a decided fancy to Sesostris, is convinced in spite of himself of the truth of these statements and recognizes Timarète as his daughter. Héracléon, suspecting the true identity of Sesostris, endeavors to turn Amasis against him but without success and Sesostris withdraws with dignity from the court to await news from Amenophis before deciding upon a plan of action, but resolved that a rival shall not marry Timarète if he can prevent it. Thus the two lovers are again separated by a difference in rank, but this time it is Timarète whose station is exalted.

But Timarète's love for Sesostris is not altered and she promises her lover that she will take her own life rather than submit to a marriage with Héracléon. When Amasis insists that she obey his orders, he is again tormented by visions of Ladice and becomes totally blind. In the meantime, Amenophis has been preparing an uprising against the king, but Sesostris, who has by now obtained full information concerning his rank, hesitates to declare himself for fear of harming Timarète. Rumors that a son of Apriez is in the city reach the ears of Amasis who at once orders the arrest of Sesostris and Amenophis and thereby learns the whole story. He straightway recognizes Sesostris as king and gives him Timarète in marriage, but Sesostris refuses to accept the throne as long as Amasis lives. The latter, having righted his wrongs to the heir of Apriez, recovers his sight and is no longer troubled by terrifying visions. Liserine is consoled for her loss by the thought that her brother has fared no

better than she, but Héracléon proves to be a bad loser and succeeds in abducting Timarète. It is only after various other adventures scattered through the seventh book of the *Grand Cyrus* that the two lovers, now of equal rank, are finally united.

The action of *Los Prados de Leon* may be more briefly stated. Mauregato, bastard son of King Fruela, has driven out the legitimate heir to the throne, his brother, Alfonso el Casto. At the death of Mauregato, Bermudo, brother of Fruela, has been called from a religious life to restore order. This done, he abdicates in favor of Alfonso, commanding to him a foundling child, Nufio del Prado, whom he has caused to be brought up in a small village. Nufio, who believes himself to be a peasant, has grown up with Nise, a girl from this village, whom he loves dearly and expects to marry. When messengers from Alfonso come to escort him to the court, he follows them, more pained to leave Nise than pleased to be raised to high estate. As in the story of Mlle de Scudéry, the lovers are separated by the elevation of the hero to noble station.

The second act is at the court of Alfonso. Nufio soon distinguishes himself by feats of arms and becomes a favorite of the king, who intends to marry him to his cousin, Blanca, but Nufio remains faithful to Nise, and puts off the marriage. He incurs the hatred of two courtiers, Don Tristan, who had aspired to the hand of Blanca, and Don Arias whose position he has usurped. These two persuade Alfonso that Nufio has plotted to betray the kingdom to the Moors and he is dispossessed of his rank and sent back to his village, aggrieved at the unjust accusation that has caused his banishment but happy in the thought that he is to be reunited to Nise. But Nise is no longer in the village. Leonor, an aunt of Alfonso, has just died, leaving a confession that acknowledges Nise to be her daughter, Inés, by the Conde of Castilla. Whereupon, Alfonso has ordered that Nise be brought to the court and treated as befits her rank. The lovers are again separated, this time by the higher rank of the heroine.

Nise, installed in the palace, is sought in marriage by Don Arias and Don Tristan but, faithful to Nufio, will listen to neither of them. Nufio, determined not to be supplanted by a rival, arrives at court in disguise but is recognized and thrown into prison. Don Arias and

Don Tristan, through jealousy, are led to denounce each other to the king, so that their odious conspiracy is soon laid bare and Nufio's disgrace cleared away. Meanwhile, a messenger from Bermudo brings proof in the form of a ring and a letter that Nufio is a bastard brother of Alfonso himself. Nufio and Nise are therefore of equal rank with nothing to prevent their marriage.

If the action of these two stories is disentangled from the details of the settings, it will be seen that the framework of both is the same. Two children, a boy and a girl, brought up in the country, believe themselves to be peasants and plan to wed each other. But the boy is recognized as the scion of a noble house, taken to court, received with honor and urged to marry a lady of the court, which he refuses to do because of his love for his peasant sweetheart. He distinguishes himself as a soldier, arouses the jealousy of courtiers with whose ambitions and loves he interferes, falls a victim to their malicious plots, is dispossessed of his rank and returned to his humble station. The girl, in her turn, is recognized as a gentlewoman, brought to court, honored according to her rank and urged to marry a courtier responsible for the disgrace of her lover. She refuses to do this and remains faithful to her lover in spite of his supposedly humble birth. The latter, in the meantime, resolved to push his own suit, returns to court, is arrested and thrown into prison. Then his real identity is established and he is restored to a station which permits him to marry the girl he loves.

The close conformity of the story of *Sesostris et Timarète* with the very complicated action of Lope's comedy seems to furnish almost conclusive proof that it is based upon it. This conclusion is further strengthened by external evidence. *Los Prados de Leon* was written before 1618 and published in 1621,<sup>1</sup> more than twenty-five years before the *Grand Cyrus*, the first volumes of which appeared in 1649. Now, as has been stated, Mlle de Scudéry knew Spanish; Spanish influence on French literature, particularly upon the drama, was already strong felt; and some half dozen of Lope's plays were known in France through adaptations or imitations. There is then nothing to render improbable the assumption that Mlle de Scudéry or her brother George may have been familiar with *Los Prados de Leon*.

<sup>1</sup> It is mentioned in the second list of *El Peregrino* and is therefore anterior to 1618. It was published in the sixteenth part of the *comedias* of Lope in 1621.

Furthermore, so far as we have been able to discover, no other work anterior to the *Grand Cyrus* embodies this plot. To be sure, the central situation of the story—a love imbroglio based upon a substitution of children, or a mystery concerning the birth of the hero and heroine—is a stock theme in both novels and tragi-comedies before and after the *Grand Cyrus*.<sup>1</sup> It occurs, among other instances, in the *Astrée*<sup>2</sup> (1610–1627), in Du Ryer's *Cléomédon* (1636),<sup>3</sup> which is based upon the *Astrée*, in the *Bérénice* of Du Ryer (1645) and in Corneille's *Don Sanche d'Aragon* (1650). But in most cases the birth of the hero alone is obscure, and in no case do we find the alternate raising and lowering of the station of both hero and heroine, as in the *comedia* of Lope. The question of difference in rank as a barrier to marriage does not figure in *Cléomédon*, and, while it is emphasized in the other productions, it does not constitute the sole or even the main interest in the situation. In every instance, the plot turns upon the question of incestuous love, the hero becoming infatuated with a woman who proves to be or is thought to be his own sister. In *Bérénice*, Du Ryer further complicates matters by introducing the hero's father as his rival. This development of the original situation is so far removed from Mlle de Scudéry's treatment of the theme, that it is hardly probable that she was influenced materially by any of these productions.

Mr. Lancaster has pointed out, however, certain similarities between *Sesostris et Timarète* and Du Ryer's *Bérénice* that must be taken into consideration. The pre-plot upon which the action of the play is based is essentially the same as that in Mlle de Scudéry's story. The king of Crete, during a period of civil strife sends his pregnant wife to be cared for by Criton, a noble of Sicily. There the queen dies, after giving birth to a daughter, whom she names Bérénice. A few days later a son, Tarsis, is born to Criton's wife, who already has a daughter, Amasie. Criton, knowing that the king desires a son, sends Tarsis to him and brings up Bérénice as his own child. This explanation, however, is not given to the reader until the end of the play. Tarsis, grown to manhood, falls in love with

<sup>1</sup> The theme of substitution of children goes back to the Cyrus legend in Herodotus, (Book I, §§ 108–21).

<sup>2</sup> Part IV. Book 10.

<sup>3</sup> Written in 1633 or 1634 and published in 1636. Cf. Lancaster, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

Bérénice, but finds that his supposed father, the king, is his rival for her hand. He is about to be banished for daring to oppose the royal will when a letter without address, which falls into Criton's hands, leads Criton to suppose that Tarsis loves his own sister, Amasie. He therefore informs Tarsis that Amasie is his sister, and Tarsis, naturally jumping to the conclusion that Bérénice is also his sister, tells the king that he will defer to his wishes, and advises Bérénice to marry the king and accept the throne to which he no longer has any claim. Bérénice refuses to do this. The situation is further complicated by the king's insistence that Tarsis marry Amasie, who, in addition to being his own sister, has a love affair of her own with a courtier named Tirinte. Everything is finally explained, however, and Tarsis and Bérénice are united.

It will be observed that while the fundamental situation in this play reposes upon the mystery that shrouds the birth of the hero and the heroine, as is the case in both of the works we are considering, this situation is developed by Du Ryer in a manner radically different from that of Lope or of Mlle de Scudéry. The troubles that beset the Spanish lovers and likewise Sesostris and Timarète depend upon successive differences in rank occasioned by partial or erroneous revelations of their social status. In Du Ryer's comedy, on the other hand, whereas a difference in rank is involved, it is only a difference between prince and noble and is not an essential element in the plot. The main interest lies in the rivalry between father and son and in the supposedly incestuous love of Tarsis and the king for Bérénice, a complication that is not even remotely suggested by Lope or Mlle de Scudéry but which does occur in the *Astrée* and in all of the tragi-comedies to which we have referred. Furthermore, the one circumstance in which Du Ryer and Mlle de Scudéry are in almost exact conformity, the manner in which the substitution of the children is effected, is not found in *Los Prados de Leon*. It is hardly probable, therefore, that Lope's comedy is the source of *Bérénice*. On the other hand, it is quite possible that Mlle de Scudéry may have borrowed from *Bérénice* the circumstances dealing with the substitution of the children. Lope's version could not have satisfied her, for she was certainly too much of a *précieuse* to have chosen as hero and heroine of her story two bastards; and while there was no dearth

of similar incidents in contemporary French literature, the close resemblance between her explanation and the account given by Du Ryer would point to that as the probable source of this detail of the plot. It is also possible, but by no means certain, that the episode of the misinterpreted letter may have suggested the idea of the misleading tablet in *Sesostris et Timarète*.

With the theme of her story furnished by Lope, Mlle de Scudéry still needed to find for it a setting that would enable her to connect it with the adventures of Cyrus. This setting she found ready made in Herodotus, whose description of the reigns and characters of Apries and Amasis she took practically unaltered.<sup>1</sup> According to the Greek historian, Apries, after a prosperous reign of twenty-five years, sent an expedition against the Kyrenians, which met with disaster. The Egyptians, holding him to blame for their defeat, revolted against him. Hearing this, Apries sent Amasis to parley with them, but the insurgents placed a helmet upon his head and proclaimed him their king, an honor he straightway accepted. Thereupon Apries sent to Amasis Patarbemis, a man of reputation, enjoining him to bring Amasis alive into his presence, but when Patarbemis returned unsuccessful, bearing an insulting message from the usurper, he ordered his ears and nose to be cut off. The rest of the Egyptians who still remained upon the king's side, when they saw the man of most repute among them thus suffering shameful outrage, joined the others in revolt and delivered themselves over to Amasis. Then Apries led his foreign mercenaries against the Egyptians but was defeated and made prisoner in a battle near Momemphis. For a while, Amasis kept him in the palace and dealt well with him, but in the end he was forced to hand him over to the Egyptians who strangled him. Amasis now devoted himself to the business of his kingdom and despite the fact that he was a too ardent lover of pleasure, distinguished himself by the building of temples and statues and increased the prosperity of his kingdom by governmental reforms and by foreign alliances, notably with the Greeks. Despised at first by his subjects because of his humble birth, he resorted to his wits to win their respect. He caused a gold foot-basin, in which he and his guests were accustomed to bathe their feet, to be broken up and

<sup>1</sup> Book II, chaps. 161-82.

made into a statue; and when he saw that the Egyptians fell down before it in reverence, he called them together and explained that he himself had fared as the foot-basin; that, although formerly he was a man of the people, now he was their king; and he bade them accordingly honor him and have regard for him.

If this narrative is compared with the foregoing summary of *Sesostris et Timarète*, it will be seen that Mlle de Scudéry has followed without deviation Herodotus' account of the events leading up to the accession of Amasis to the throne of Egypt. In addition, she has portrayed Amasis, the king, essentially as the Greek author presents him, touching upon his construction of buildings, temples, and statues and even using the parable of the golden foot-basin, modified to suit her more refined taste, to emphasize his relations with his subjects. Yet the Amasis of Mlle de Scudéry is, after all, a composite character, for to this rather meager sketch the French novelist has added details related by Herodotus concerning other Egyptian monarchs. Thus, the episode of Amasis' blindness she probably found in the chapter devoted to Pheros,<sup>1</sup> the son of Sesostris, and the idea of the visions that beset him in the same passage and in the relation of the abdication of Sabacōs, the Ethiopian.<sup>2</sup> As regards Sesostris himself, Mlle de Scudéry is indebted to Herodotus merely for his name and his reputation as a military hero. Her identification of him as the son of Apries is a deliberate alteration of historical fact for literary purposes, as Sesostris lived more than seven hundred years before the reign of Apries.<sup>3</sup> In like manner, she has borrowed a few other proper names and applied them to characters of her own invention.

Summarized, the foregoing evidence indicates, then, that Mlle de Scudéry found the theme of her story in *Los Prados de Leon*; the setting, the pre-plot, and the essential elements in the portrait of Amasis in Herodotus; and that she is probably indebted to the *Bérénice* of Du Ryer for the circumstances attendant upon the birth of Sesostris and Timarète.

<sup>1</sup> Book II, chap. 111. In chapters 137–140 there is an account of another blind king, Anysis.

<sup>2</sup> Book II, chap. 139.

<sup>3</sup> Sesostris is the popular name of Rameses II, who reigned about 1333 B.C. Apries reigned from 590 to 570 B.C.

This exposition of the sources of *Sesostris et Timarète* shows the composite character of the work and the skill with which Mlle de Scudéry has blended the various elements into a decidedly harmonious whole. It adds one more to the long list of Spanish comedies that influenced French literature during the classic period and furnishes us with an interesting and rather unusual instance of a novel based upon a play.<sup>1</sup> Finally, it suggests that a study of other stories contained in the *Grand Cyrus* might reveal sources of literary inspiration in the seventeenth century heretofore unsuspected.

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<sup>1</sup> The story of *Sesostris et Timarète* has been dramatized at least twice, by Thomas Corneille in his *Bérénice* (1657) and by Dryden in *Marriage à la Mode* (1673). Parfait (XIII, 434) mentions also *Sesostris*, "tragédie non imprimée de M. de Longepierre" (1696) but gives no indication of its source.

## THE SOURCES OF SEBASTIANO ERIZZO'S *SEI GIORNATE*

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Sebastiano Erizzo was an Italian Renaissance scholar, born in Venice, in 1525. He belonged to a noble family and became senator of the republic and member of the Council of Ten. He had an excellent knowledge of Greek and Latin and was well versed in the literature of those languages. He died in 1585.<sup>1</sup>

The frame of the *Sei Giornate*<sup>2</sup> belongs to the numerous imitations of the *Decameron*. It consists of six *Giornate* of six stories each. The narrators are a company of students of the University of Padua, who meet in a delightful garden on six successive Wednesdays in the months of June and July, 1542.

The stories themselves, which Erizzo chose to call *Avvenimenti* rather than *Novelle*, are moralizing in character and far removed from the spirit which pervades the *Decameron*. Each contains at least one highly rhetorical discourse, which is generally out of place, so that the reader gets the impression that it was meant to be a mere display of the author's stylistical faculties.

With regard to Erizzo's sources I have not been able to find any statement outside two short notices of Fracassetti, the translator of Petrarch's letters,<sup>3</sup> and Marcus Landau,<sup>4</sup> referring to four stories of the *Sei Giornate*. The purpose of this paper is to solve the question: On what sources did the Venetian novelist draw when compiling his work?

An examination of the sources of the *Sei Giornate* led me very soon to the recognition of the fact that a large number of the *Avvenimenti* correspond to narratives in the work of Valerius Maximus,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Marcus Landau, *Beiträge sur Geschichte der italienischen Novelle* (Wien, 1875), p. 124; Francesco Flamini, *Il Cinquecento*, Milan, n.d.; Lettera di Gaetano Poggiali a sua eccellenza il signor cav. Girolamo Zulian, in *Le Sei Giornate di Messer Sebastiano Erizzo*, Milan, 1805.

<sup>2</sup> *Novellieri minori del Cinquecento: G. Parabosco—S. Erizzo*, ed. by G. Gigli and F. Nicolini, Bari, 1912.

<sup>3</sup> *Lettere di Francesco Petrarca*, trans. and ed. by G. Fracassetti, I (Florence, 1863), 269 and 282.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 125.

entitled *De dictis factisque memorabilibus*, as indicated in the following table:

<i>Avvenimenti</i>	<i>De dictis factisque memorabilibus</i>
III.....	i. 1, ext. 2.
V.....	iv. 3. 1.
XIII.....	v. 1, ext. 1.
XIV.....	v. 1. 4.
XV.....	v. 1, ext. 4.
XVI.....	v. 6, ext. 1.
XVII.....	vi. 5, ext. 3.
XVIII.....	vi. 5, ext. 4.
XIX.....	vi. 3, ext. 3.
XXI.....	iv. 8. 1.
XXII.....	v. 4. 1.
XXIII.....	v. 9. 4.
XXVI.....	iii. 2. 11.
XXVII.....	ix. 12. 3.
XXVIII.....	iii. 2, ext. 1.
XXXI.....	iii. 2, ext. 9.
XXXII.....	vi. 1, ext. 1.
XXXIII.....	vi. 1, ext. 3.
XXXV.....	iv. 6, ext. 3.

The problem which must be solved with regard to these stories is whether Erizzo used the versions of Valerius Maximus alone or had recourse to others in addition.

*Avvenimento III* contains the motif of the violation of a sanctuary and the punishment of the crime. In the version of Valerius Maximus the hero is the Numidian King Masinissa. A similar story is told by Livy.<sup>1</sup> Here the hero is the Liparian pirate chief Timasitheus; the action is virtually the same. As in Erizzo's tale the avenger of the crime is a Carthaginian corsair, it is quite certain that the novelist knew and used both versions. He changed the time and locality of the action as well as the names of the acting personages. In addition, the pious pirate chief inflicts upon his sub-captain a mode of punishment described at length in another chapter of Valerius Maximus' work.<sup>2</sup>

*Avvenimento V* is based upon the motif of the generous and chaste king or general, of which there exists a large number of versions.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Hist.* v. 28.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, v. 3, ext. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. H. W. Kirchhof, *Wendunmuth*, ed. by H. Oesterley, *Bibliothek d. Lit. Vereins in Stuttgart*, IC (Tübingen, 1869), 31. To these examples must be added: Diodorus Siculus *Bibl. hist.* xvi. 10; Plutarch *Vitae paral.*; *Alexander* xxi; and Dio Cassius *Hist. Rom.* xxxvi. 2.

Erizzo's story resembles most those which ascribe the deed to Scipio Africanus the Elder,<sup>1</sup> in that the victorious general restores the woman to her husband and is rewarded by the political aid of the latter. When comparing the Italian text with the ancient versions, we find that, with the exception of the proper names, Erizzo's account agrees with that of Valerius Maximus. For one point only it is certain that he used the narrative of Livy<sup>2</sup> besides, as Valerius does not mention the fact that the soldiers bring the girl to their general.

*Avvenimento XIII* ascribes to Charlemagne an anecdote told of Alexander the Great by Valerius Maximus and repeated by Jacobus Cassalis.<sup>3</sup> It is impossible to determine whether the novelist drew on the medieval author or on his classical model.

*Avvenimento XIV* is the story of the humane general who bursts into tears when seeing the destruction of the enemy city by his troops, and is told of many personages: of Camillus,<sup>4</sup> Marcus Marcellus,<sup>5</sup> Scipio Africanus the Younger,<sup>6</sup> and Lucullus.<sup>7</sup> It is found also in medieval works: the *Dialogus creaturarum*<sup>8</sup> and Snorri's *Heimskringla*.<sup>9</sup> As the number of distinctive traits is very small, it is impossible to determine which account served as a model to the Italian novelist, except that it is safe to say that the Old Norse account was unknown to him. There is nothing, however, which prevents us from supposing that the *Avvenimento* is based upon the narrative of Valerius Maximus.

*Avvenimento XV* brings out the generosity of King Antigonus toward his fallen enemy, King Pyrrhus of Epirus. It is one of the

<sup>1</sup> Kirchhof, *op. cit.*, IC, 31, to which may be added: Dio Cassius *op. cit.* xvi. 43, and Petrarch *De viris illustribus vites*, ed. by A. Razzolini, I (Bologna, 1874), 468.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, xxvi. 50.

<sup>3</sup> *Volgarissamento del libro de' costumi e degli officii de' nobili sopra il giuoco degli scacchi di Frate Jacopo da Cessole* (Milano, 1829), p. 56.

<sup>4</sup> Plutarch *op. cit.*; *Camillus* v. 5-6.

<sup>5</sup> Valerius Maximus *op. cit.* v. 1. 4; Plutarch *op. cit.*; *Marcellus* xix. 1; *Dialogus creaturarum*, cap. 63; St. Augustine *Civ. Dei* i. 6 and iii. 14; Jacobus Cassalis, *op. cit.*, p. 83; Petrarch *op. cit.* i. 278.

<sup>6</sup> Polybius *Hist.* xxxix. 5; Appian *Hist.* viii. 19. 132.

<sup>7</sup> Plutarch *op. cit.*, *Lucullus*, xix. 3-5.

<sup>8</sup> Cap. 63.

<sup>9</sup> *Olaus S. Helga*, cap. cxvii.

few stories in which Erizzo has not changed the names of the characters. The tale is found in Valerius Maximus, Plutarch,<sup>1</sup> Justinus,<sup>2</sup> and Petrarch.<sup>3</sup> Erizzo's account is in parts a literal translation from Valerius Maximus.

*Avvenimento XVI* is the story of King Codrus of Athens who sacrificed himself for his people. There exists a large number of versions, partly ancient, partly medieval.<sup>4</sup> Erizzo followed the account of Valerius except in one point, the king disguising himself as a common soldier, which is the version of the *Gesta Romanorum*.<sup>5</sup>

*Avvenimento XVII* tells of the lawgiver Zaleucus; it is an anecdote widely known in antiquity and the Middle Ages.<sup>6</sup> The novelist follows Valerius Maximus rather closely, preserving the names of the characters and giving that of Aristeo to the son, which is an invention of his, as no source mentions that name.

*Avvenimento XVIII* is the tale of another lawgiver, Charondas of Thurium. The story is told in several works, both ancient and medieval.<sup>7</sup> Erizzo used the version of Valerius Maximus, but changed the name of Thurium to Tyrus, perhaps induced by the reading of the *Dialogus creaturarum*<sup>8</sup> or some other medieval version.

*Avvenimento XIX* recounts the punishment inflicted upon a venal judge by the Persian King Cambyses.<sup>9</sup> As Valerius Maximus does not give any name besides that of the king, Erizzo must have known the version of Herodotus,<sup>10</sup> which is the only one that tells the names of the judge and his son. Erizzo mentions that the judge was a good

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, *Pyrrhus* xxxiv.

<sup>2</sup> *Trogi Pompei Hist. Philipp. Epit.* xxv. 5.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, l. 164.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Gesta Romanorum*, ed. by H. Oesterley (Berlin, 1872), p. 718, to which may be added: Strabo *Geogr.* ix. 5. 7, and Pausanias *Descriptio Graeciae* ii. 39. 4.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, cap. XLI.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Gesta Romanorum*, edit. *cit.*, p. 720; Carl Leo Cholevius, *Geschichte der deutschen Poesie nach ihren antiken Elementen*. Erster Teil, Leipzig (Brockhaus, 1854), p. 256; Alessandro D'Ancona, *Le Fonti del Novellino, Romania*, III, 168; Reinhold Köhler, *Kleinere Schriften zur erzählenden Dichtung des Mittelalters*, ed. by J. Bolte (Berlin, 1900), p. 378.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Johannes Pauli, *Schimpf und Ernst*, ed. by H. Oesterley, *Bibliothek d. Lit. Vereins in Stuttgart*, LXXXV (Tübingen, 1866), 572.

<sup>8</sup> Cap. 89.

<sup>9</sup> For the different versions existing of this story, cf. *Gesta Romanorum*, edit. *cit.*, p. 717; Kirchhof, *op. cit.*, IO, 29; Reinhold Köhler, *op. cit.*, p. 377. To the references of Oesterley should be added: Ammianus Marcellinus *Hist.* xxiii. 6. 82.

<sup>10</sup> *Hist.* v. 25.

friend of the king, a detail found only in Guicciardini.<sup>1</sup> It would be hazardous, however, to conclude from this fact alone that the account of the historian was used by Erizzo, as the latter may have drawn on his own imagination when adding this trait. As there is not a single characteristic in which Valerius Maximus' account differs from that of Herodotus, aside from the omission of the names, it is not at all certain that the version of the Roman writer had any influence on the Italian, as Marcus Landau asserts. The narrative of Herodotus alone would have furnished all the details brought out by Erizzo.

*Avvenimento XXI* is the story of the liberality of Fabius Maximus told by a number of ancient writers.<sup>2</sup> The account of Erizzo is in close accord with those of Valerius Maximus and Livy,<sup>3</sup> which agree with each other, so that it is impossible to determine which served as a basis for the *novella*. As usual, Erizzo changed the names, ascribing to the Athenian Cimon the deed of Fabius. The introductory paragraph, however, comes from another source: Plutarch.<sup>4</sup> The borrowing can be easily verified, so that it will not be necessary to show Erizzo's indebtedness to the Greek by putting the identical passages in parallel columns.

*Avvenimento XXII* represents a version of the Coriolanus story, though the names of the acting personages have been changed. The tale is found in at least fifteen variants, partly classical, partly medieval.<sup>5</sup> Of the latter, the only ones which have been accessible to me are that of Boccaccio's work *De claris mulieribus*<sup>6</sup> and that of the *Gesta Romanorum*.<sup>7</sup> The version of Holcot, mentioned by

<sup>1</sup> *Detti e Fatti* 9; *Hore di Ricreations* 22.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Gesta Romanorum*, edit. cit., p. 72, to which may be added: Dio Cassius *op. cit.* xiv. 15; xv. 35; Jacobus Cassallis, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, xxii. 23.

<sup>4</sup> *Cimon* x. There might be some doubt about the question whether the source of the Italian was the work of Plutarch, the *Life of Cimon* of Cornelius Nepos, or the *Dei-pnosophista* xli. 44, of Athenaeus. However, the phrase, "dond a'suo cittadini de'nemici le spoglie" does not find a parallel in the account of the Latin writer, but corresponds to Plutarch's "Ἔτη δὲ σποράδες οἱ Κίμων ἵσταται τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐκεῖνος θνήτος τὸν πολεμίους θύσας ἀφελθεῖσας καλλιεργεῖ τὰ τολμάτια.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Gesta Romanorum*, edit. cit., p. 735, and Kirchhof, *op. cit.*, IC, 143, to which must be added Eutropius I. 15.

<sup>6</sup> Cap. LIII.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.*, cap. CXXXVII, p. 492.

Oesterley,<sup>1</sup> is cited from Valerius Maximus, according to Professor Th. F. Crane.<sup>2</sup>

The Italian author makes the hero an English general, places the action in the time of the Hundred Years' War, and does not hesitate to make the renegade general invade England at the head of a French army and besiege London. This blunder must be entirely ascribed to Erizzo's ignorance of the historical facts; for it would have been easy for him to confer upon his new Coriolanus French citizenship and make him go over to the English, thus bringing his tale into better accordance with history.

The curious transformation of the ancient story is certainly the work of the Italian; for no medieval compiler was ever so daring as intentionally to place an event of ancient history so widely known as the Coriolanus story undoubtedly was, in a comparatively modern period, removed from his own time by less than two centuries. The problem which remains to be solved is: What version or versions of the Coriolanus story did he use?

When comparing Erizzo's text with the ancient and medieval versions of the story, I found that it agrees with the Latin of Boccaccio's *Liber de claris mulieribus* in all essential points of the action, with but a few exceptions. These may be summarized as follows:

1. Neither Boccaccio nor any one of the ancient writers has the Volscian army besiege Rome. They all narrate that the enemy pitch their camp at a short distance from the city. The only version which mentions a siege is that of the *Gesta Romanorum*.

2. Boccaccio does not speak of the strife between patricians and plebeians within the city, while Coriolanus threatens it from without. This internal discord is mentioned by Livy,<sup>3</sup> Plutarch,<sup>4</sup> Appian,<sup>5</sup> Dionysius of Halicarnassus,<sup>6</sup> Dio Cassius,<sup>7</sup> and Zonaras.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 735.

<sup>2</sup> *The Exempla or Illustrative Stories from the Sermones vulgares of Jacques de Vitry* (London, 1890), p. c. In this connection I wish to express my thanks for the kind help given me by Mr. Benjamin A. Botkin of Boston, Massachusetts, who consulted for me the copy of the *Speculum historiale* of Vincentius Bellovacensis in possession of the Harvard College Library, and to Mrs. Grace P. Smith, of Iowa City, Iowa.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, ll. 35-40.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, *Coriolanus*.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, v. 1.

<sup>6</sup> *Antiquit. Romanor.*, lib. VIII.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.*, v. 18.

<sup>8</sup> *Epit. Dion. Cass.*, lib. VII.

3. Neither Boccaccio nor any other version, with the exception of that of the *Gesta Romanorum*, mentions the hero's father. In the story contained in the last-named compilation, the general's old parents come out to implore him.

4. He desires to embrace his relatives; their refusal is not mentioned by Boccaccio; Livy alone dwells upon it.

5. The only versions which express doubt as to his ultimate fate are those of Livy and Dio Cassius.

From this summary it follows clearly that the version of the *Liber* was not the only one used by Erizzo, but that he drew on classical writers as well and perhaps also on the *Gesta Romanorum*. Let us determine the classical source or sources on which he relied. Six different authors come into consideration, as we have seen: Livy, Plutarch, Appian, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Dio Cassius, and the Byzantine Zonaras. The versions of Plutarch, Appian, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus form a group which differs widely from the others. Erizzo did not use them. Dio Cassius and Zonaras differ from Livy and Erizzo in one important point: the speech of the hero's parent. In Dio and the Byzantine this speech is a humble entreaty rather than a reproach. Coriolanus' mother threatens to kill herself should she fail to dissuade her son from his enterprise. Had Erizzo been familiar with this version, he would, with his general tendency for exaggeration and bombast, probably not have neglected to add this point to the highly artificial discourse of Alardo's father. Furthermore, Livy is the only author who mentions the hero's wish to embrace his mother and her proud and reproachful refusal, a trait which the novelist took into his own narrative. Our conclusion, then, is that Livy is the only classical source of Erizzo's story.

Points 1 and 3 of the foregoing summary point to the possibility of the Italian using the story of the *Gesta Romanorum*. The first does not appear to me to be decisive; Erizzo may have worked this change himself with his predilection for exaggeration. On the other hand, one more fact must be added which speaks in favor of an influence exercised by the *Gesta*. The version of this compilation is only one which places the action in the time of Constantine, without any historical justification whatsoever, and substitutes a vague

Roman emperor for the ancient hero. This procedure may have suggested to Erizzo a similar one which would afford him a means of veiling his sources and adding to the interest of the tale, which reasons were doubtless the only ones for his travesty.

Where did Erizzo take the name of the hero? It need hardly be said that Alardo or Alard is no English name and that no such personage ever played a rôle in English history or in the Hundred Years' War. It is likely that the Italian used the name of the famous general of Charles of Anjou, victor of the battle of Tagliacozzo, in 1268.

*Avvenimento* XXIII tells of an unnatural son who tries to kill his father and the way in which the latter dissuades him from his criminal plan. The tale passed from Valerius Maximus into the *Gesta Romanorum*<sup>1</sup> and from there into a number of other medieval compilations.<sup>2</sup> Erizzo's account goes back either to the original or to the version of the *Gesta*.

*Avvenimento* XXIV exemplifies the equanimity of a father at the news of his son's death. The story is told of many characters of antiquity: of Anaxagoras,<sup>3</sup> Xenophon,<sup>4</sup> Demosthenes,<sup>5</sup> Dion,<sup>6</sup> King Antigonus,<sup>7</sup> Tynnichus the Spartan,<sup>8</sup> Datames,<sup>9</sup> Horatius,<sup>10</sup> Cato the Elder,<sup>11</sup> Aemilius Paulus,<sup>12</sup> and King David.<sup>13</sup> The version of the novelist bears a certain resemblance to four of them;<sup>14</sup> but there are not enough individual traits to allow of greater precision. It might

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, cap. IX.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 714. To the references of Oesterley should be added: Dio Cassius *Hist.* lxxvii. 14. A similar story is told by Paulus Diaconus *Hist. Lang.* vi. 38.

<sup>3</sup> Plutarch, *Op. moral.*, ed. by J. G. Hutten, III (Tübingen, 1796-1800), 450: *De cohibenda ira* xvi; IV, 26: *De tranquillitate animi* xvi; I, 359: *Consolatio ad Apollonium*.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 361: *Consolatio ad Apollonium*; *Dialogus creaturarum*, cap. 122.

<sup>5</sup> Plutarch *Vitas paral.*, *Demosthenes* xxii; *Op. moral.* I, 359, 362: *Consolatio ad Apollonium*.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 361: *Consolatio ad Apollonium*.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 242: *Apophthegmata Laconica*.

<sup>9</sup> Cornelius Nepos *Datames* vi.

<sup>10</sup> Plutarch *Vitas paral.*, *Publilius* xiv; St. Augustine *Civ. Dei* v. 18.

<sup>11</sup> Plutarch, *Vitas paral.*, *Marcus Cato Major* xxiv. 6.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, *Aemilius Paulus* xxxv-xxxvi; *Op. moral.*, II, 146: *Regum et Imperatorum Apophthegmata*, *Aemilius Paulus*; Appian, *op. cit.*, ix. 19; Petrarch, *op. cit.*, I, 658.

<sup>13</sup> *Dialogus creaturarum*, cap. 122.

<sup>14</sup> Plutarch, *Op. moral.*, I, 361: *Consolatio ad Apollonium*, II, 242: *Apophthegmata Laconica*; Cornelius Nepos *Datames* vi; *Dialogus creaturarum*, cap. 122.

be added that he changed the time of the action, placing it in the Middle Ages and making an English king by the name of Edward the hero. The wife whom he consoles is an addition of his own and not found in any of his possible sources. The episode of the young prince's being killed by a stone before the walls of Edinburgh has been taken from an account of the death of Pyrrhus, probably from the work of Valerius Maximus which, as we have seen above, formed the basis of *Avvenimento XV*.

*Avvenimento XXVI* describes the heroic deed of a dying Roman on the battle-field of Cannae. The story goes back to Valerius Maximus.

The hero of the *Avvenimento XXVII* is a dying soldier who is happy at the news of the victory of his people. Erizzo treats this motif rather freely; but the influence of a similar anecdote told by Valerius Maximus and repeated by Jacobus Cassalis<sup>1</sup> is clearly to be seen, in spite of the changes worked by Erizzo.

*Avvenimento XXVIII* is based upon Valerius Maximus who narrates the deed of despair committed by a patrician of Capua after the city had fallen into Roman hands in the course of the Second Punic War.

*Avvenimento XXXI* represents a motif extremely widespread in the literature of the Middle Ages: that of the faithful servant who saves the child of his liege lord. In the *chanson de geste* *Bueve de Hantone*,<sup>2</sup> Sobaut, Bueve's guardian, saves him from the persecutions of his unnatural mother and his stepfather. Another *chanson de geste*, *Mainet*,<sup>3</sup> describes the flight of young Charlemagne from the persecutions of his stepbrothers with the help of the faithful servant David. In the prose romance of *Lancelot du Lac*<sup>4</sup> a faithful knight rescues the two sons of Bohort; in the prose *Tristan*,<sup>5</sup> Gouvenail, the queen's squire, protects the young hero from the enmity of King Mark. In the Italian novel *Guerino Meschino*,<sup>6</sup> the hero is

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 96.

<sup>2</sup> *Der festländische Bueve de Hantone, Fassung I*, ed. by A. Stimming (Dresden, 1911), vss. 281–366, pp. 9–11; *Der anglo-normannische Bœve de Haumont*, ed. by A. Stimming, VII (Halle, 1899), vss. 229–55, p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> G. Paris, *Mainet, Romania*, IV (1875), 305.

<sup>4</sup> John Colin Dunlop, *History of Prose Fiction*, ed. by H. Wilson, I (London, 1896), 180.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 198.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 271.

saved by his nurse, who goes with him from province to province, living on alms. In the *Heimskringla*,<sup>1</sup> a laboring man tells the persecutors of Einar's son that the child is his own, thus preserving it from destruction. Saxo Grammaticus<sup>2</sup> relates how the guardians of Harald and Halfdan protect the two boys by a ruse from the persecutions of their uncle, King Frode.

While in these cases we do not find the sacrifice of the savior's own child for the sake of that of the lord, the Provençal *chanson* of *Daurel et Beton*<sup>3</sup> narrates how a jongleur substitutes his own boy for Beton, the child of his murdered lord, dissimulating his feelings when he sees his boy being killed before his eyes, in order to save that of his lord. A similar example of devotion is found in the Old French *chanson de geste Jourdains de Blaivies*.<sup>4</sup> The version contained in Boccaccio's *Liber de claris mulieribus*<sup>5</sup> and his classical sources are the only ones which relate the generous self-sacrifice of the child who had been saved by another's death; the only ones which place the action of the story in Magna Graecia. According to L. Torretta,<sup>6</sup> the sources of Boccaccio's account are Livy<sup>7</sup> and Valerius Maximus. It is impossible to determine whether Erizzo modeled his tale only according to that of the *Liber*, or whether he drew also on the narratives of the two Roman writers. It is to be noted, however, that in this story likewise he thought fit to change the names of the persons. Gelo of Syracuse has become Ippone of Messina; the heroine Harmonia is called Flavia; the daughter of the nurse, whose name is not given by Boccaccio or his sources, bears the name of Emilia. It is probable that Erizzo took the name of the tyrant from chapter li of the *Liber*, where it is attached to a woman.

*Avvenimento XXXII* is a story contained in the *Liber de claris mulieribus*<sup>8</sup> besides the work of Valerius Maximus. When com-

<sup>1</sup> *Sagan af Sigurdi, Inga oc Eysteini, Haralddssonom*, cap. VII.

<sup>2</sup> *Gesta Danorum*, ed. by A. Holder (Strassburg, 1886), p. 217.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. by Paul Meyer (Paris, 1880), vss. 942-1033, pp. 32-35.

<sup>4</sup> *Amis et Amiles und Jourdains de Blaivies*, ed. by K. Hofmann (Erlangen, 1882), pp. 121-25; cf. also Johann N. Vogl, *Die ältesten Volksmärchen der Russen* (Wien, 1841), p. 149.

<sup>5</sup> Cap. LXVI.

<sup>6</sup> *I fonti del Liber de claris mulieribus*, *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, XXXIX, 275.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.*, xxiv. 25.

<sup>8</sup> Cap. LI.

paring the three versions we find a steady growth of the legend. The short and concise account of the Roman, considerably amplified by Boccaccio, assumes monstrous dimensions in Erizzo's work. With this epigone novelist the heroine has to suffer, not only from the persecutions of the captain, but also from those of two sailors, who are both killed by their rival before the final catastrophe. No tale of the whole collection shows better the utter lack of taste on the part of the author, who did not avoid falling into the grossest absurdities and inconsistencies in his desire to spin out a story which did not admit of the common devices of a novelist.

*Avvenimento XXXIII* is the story of the Gallogrecian queen who avenges an insult on a Roman centurion; it is in many places a literal translation from Boccaccio's *Liber de claris mulieribus*.<sup>1</sup> This fact is so evident that it need not be shown by a comparison of the passages.

As we know that there existed an Italian translation of Boccaccio's treatise, it will be of interest to know whether Erizzo used the latter or whether he went back to the Latin original itself. A comparison of the novelist's text with the vernacular translation of *De claris mulieribus* done by M. Donato degli Albanzani di Casentino<sup>2</sup> proves Erizzo's independence of the latter. Generally speaking, we find Erizzo a more verbose translator than Donato degli Albanzani.

Now the question must be answered: Did Erizzo use any other version besides that of Boccaccio? The story of the Gallogrecian queen is told by Polybius,<sup>3</sup> Livy,<sup>4</sup> Valerius Maximus, Florus,<sup>5</sup> Plutarch,<sup>6</sup> and Aurelius Victor,<sup>7</sup> besides a number of medieval compilers.<sup>8</sup> Of the six ancient writers, Polybius and Plutarch give a version differing somewhat from those of the others and of Erizzo

<sup>1</sup> Cap. LXXI.

<sup>2</sup> *Delle donne famose di Giovanni Boccacci, traduzione di M. Donato degli Albanzani di Casentino detto l'Apenninigena*, ed. by G. Manzoni, Bologna, 1881.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, xxi. 38.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, xxxviii. 24.

<sup>5</sup> *Epitom. de Tito Livio* i. 27.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. moral.*, II, 298: *De mulierum virtutibus*, Chiomara.

<sup>7</sup> *De viris illustribus*, cap. LV.

<sup>8</sup> Kirchhof, *op. cit.*, IC, 31. The story of Polyaenus quoted by Oesterley tells of the deed of the Theban Timokleia, somewhat similar to that of the Gallogrecian queen, but too different, on the other hand, to make it probable that Erizzo knew and used it for his *Avvenimento*.

in the account of the centurion's death. Florus and Aurelius Victor give only a very short version which could not have furnished the novelist with most of the details. Both differ from the rest by adding the name Vulso to that of the consul Cnaeus Manlius. In Aurelius' version, the husband himself kills the Roman; in Florus, the queen is not ransomed, but escapes. Thus neither one of the two can be considered as having contributed to Erizzo's story. It would be difficult to determine whether the novelist used the versions of Livy and Valerius Maximus besides that of Boccaccio, as they were the sources on which the author of the *Liber* himself drew.<sup>1</sup> Neither Boccaccio nor his classical models mention the name of the queen. We must, therefore, assume that Erizzo was familiar with the versions of Polybius or Plutarch.

*Avvenimento XXXV* is the story of the faithful wife who exchanges clothes with her husband and takes his place in prison while he escapes, unnoticed by the guards. Of this motif the following versions are known to me: (1) Herodotus *Hist.* iv. 146. (2) Valerius Maximus *De dictis factisque memorab.* iv. 6, ext. 3. (3) Plutarch, *op. moral.*, II, 272: *De mulierum virtutibus, Tyrrhenides*. (4) Achilles Tatius *Leucippe and Klitophon* vi. 1.<sup>2</sup> (5) Procopius *Bell. Pers.* i. 6. 1-9. (6) *Crónica general de España*, cap. XXXV-XXXVI.<sup>3</sup> (7) Boccaccio, *De claris mulieribus*, cap. XXIX. (8) A Spanish ballad: *Por los palacios del rey. . . .*<sup>4</sup> (9) Giambattista Giraldi *Ecatommiti*, V, 4.<sup>5</sup> (10) Erizzo's story. (11) Several later versions, written after the publication of the *Sei Giornate*.<sup>6</sup>

Of the nine versions which come into consideration as possible sources of Erizzo's story, four place the action in ancient Sparta; they are those of Herodotus, Valerius Maximus, Plutarch, and Boccaccio. Their version is generally known as the story of the Minya; the number of prisoners and their wives is rather large;

<sup>1</sup> Cf. L. Torretta, *op. cit.*, p. 275.

<sup>2</sup> Τάκτα Δευκίτην καὶ Κλεοφώρα ed. by S. Gaselee (London, 1917), pp. 293-307.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Poema de Fernán González*, ed. by C. C. Marden (Baltimore, 1904), pp. 154-56; cf. also Puymaigre, *Les vieux auteurs castillans*, II (Paris, 1890), 167.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *Romancero de Fernán González*, in *Homenaje a Menéndez y Pelayo*, I (Madrid, 1899), 462.

<sup>5</sup> *Tesoro dei novellieri italiani scelti dal decimoterzo al decimonono secolo*, ed. by G. Zirardini, II (Paris, 1847), 264.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Hans Wilhelm Kirchhof, *op. cit.*, IC, 152.

their enemy is no tyrant, but the Lacedaemonian population as a whole; the wives are the daughters and sisters of the Spartans, and the risk which they run is therefore not very great. Nevertheless, the theme was certainly suggested to the Venetian writer by one of the four accounts. For all state that the prisoners were to be executed during the night according to Lacedaemonian custom. Erizzo says: "Ma, perchè si costumava a quei tempi che chi per qualche grande misfatto fusse sentenziato a morte, dovesse essere di notte fatto morire, impose alle guardie Nicocle che la notte seguente fusse in prigione Timocare decapitato."<sup>1</sup> As we have seen that the *Liber* was certainly one of Erizzo's sources, it is very likely that the same work should have suggested this theme.

The version of Achilles Tatius has very little in common with that of the *Sei Giornate*; while there is only one heroine mentioned in it, no tyrant occurs, and the action is connected with one of the most lascivious scenes of that novel.

The narrative of Procopius of Caesarea places the event in Persia. The husband causes his wife to prostitute herself to the jailor in order to facilitate his plans, and afterward persuades her to exchange clothes with him. The guards are deceived for several days, during which he succeeds in escaping his pursuers. Procopius adds that he knows nothing of the ultimate fate of the wife.

The hero of the story contained in the *Crónica general* is the famous Fernán González; the tyrant is king Sancho of León. The wife disguises herself as a pilgrim to obtain admission to her husband's prison. When informed of the happening, the king is generous enough to send her to her husband; nothing is mentioned of any punishment inflicted upon the guards.

The version of the ballad differs still more from the Italian story, as in the Spanish both hero and heroine die in prison.

There is, then, but one possibility left: Erizzo was acquainted with the *novella* of Giraldi and used it. The difference between the two Italian stories may be summarized as follows: (1) Giraldi gives a large number of details concerning the personality of the hero and his wife. (2) The scene of the action is Milan; the time, that of the author—the beginning of the sixteenth century. (3) The

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 410.

tyrant is the French governor of Milan. (4) He decides to have the wife executed when the trick is discovered; then the husband offers himself to the executioner. (5) The governor is informed of this and decides to have both husband and wife killed. (6) The people protest and prevent the execution. The matter is referred to King Francis I, who pardons them, praising them for their noble conduct.

The two stories agree in that both the king and the governor are tyrants of the worst character and that the hero draws the punishment upon himself; in Giraldi by killing one of the governor's attendants, in Erizzo by trying to kill the tyrant himself. As we see, most of the differences between the tales of Giraldi and Erizzo are due to the latter's effort to shorten the story. It is not surprising that the author of the *Sei Giornate* should have preferred to place the action in classical antiquity; we know that he liked such devices to hide his indebtedness to others.

Giraldi's *Ecatommiti* were published for the first time in 1565, the *Sei Giornate* two years later, so that the chronology of the two works does not present any difficulties to our theory.

Our conclusion, then, would be that in all probability the main source of Erizzo's tale is found in the fourth *novella* of the fifth day of Giraldi's *Ecatommiti*, and that he certainly was familiar with the version of the *Liber de claris mulieribus* or its source,<sup>1</sup> Valerius Maximus.

It remains to study the sources of the *Avvenimenti* which have no parallels in the work of Valerius Maximus. *Avvenimento* I is based upon one of the most characteristic motifs of the Italian *novella*: the elopement of an adventurous youth with a high-born lady.<sup>2</sup> It has often been supposed that these tales are re-workings or translations of Byzantine adventure novels.<sup>3</sup> From what we know of the Low Greek novel such an assumption would appear very probable indeed; for elopements, shipwrecks, and adventures with pirates play a very large part in this *genre* of literature.<sup>4</sup> I have

<sup>1</sup> Cf. L. Torretta, *op. cit.*, p. 274.

<sup>2</sup> *Decameron*, II, 6; II, 7; IV, 3; V, 3.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. M. Landau, *Die Quellen des Dekameron* (Stuttgart, 1884), p. 296; Erwin Rohde, *Der griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer* (Leipzig, 1914), p. 571.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*; J. C. Dunlop, *op. cit.*, I, 9.

examined such stories as have been edited and were accessible to me; but I did not succeed in finding any which agrees exactly with the *Avvenimento* of the Venetian.

The notice of Fracassetti mentioned above refers to *Avvenimento* II, which he declares to have been translated almost literally from a portion of the third letter of the first book of Petrarch's *De rebus familiaribus*. It is the legend of the *ring of Fastrada* which Petrarch heard at *Aix-la-Chapelle*. The high-flown soliloquy of Charles inserted in Erizzo's account is an invention of the novelist and is not found in the Latin original.

*Avvenimenti* VIII and IX like *Avvenimento* I relate the workings of fortune, though with the exclusion of the love motif. This class of stories is already met with in the *Decameron*, where it forms the fourth story of the second day. Gröber<sup>1</sup> supposes these adventure stories to have their origin in the accounts of Mediterranean sailors.

There is some uncertainty as regards the sources, in the case of *Avvenimento* XX, which narrates the well-known story of the murder of Hipparchus, tyrant of Athens, by Harmodius and Aristogeiton. In the motivation of the deed, Erizzo differs from all other versions of the tale,<sup>2</sup> of which two main branches are known.<sup>3</sup> The motivation of the deed was probably taken from some account of the murder of Philip, the father of Alexander the Great, by Pausanias.<sup>4</sup>

*Avvenimento* XXIX relates the heroic deed of a young Sicilian during the war of the Venetians against the Turks. It has been taken from a Venetian chronicle,<sup>5</sup> and is in places a literal translation.

*Avvenimento* XXX likewise has its source in a narrative of the same chronicle.<sup>6</sup> The description of the taking of Smyrna by the Venetians is in part a literal translation from the Latin of the chronicle, the account of the event itself being an amplification of the original.

<sup>1</sup> *Ueber die Quellen von Boccaccios Dekameron* (Strassburg, 1913), p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Pauly, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, ed. by G. Wissowa, dritter Halbband (Stuttgart, 1895), c. 930.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Philologus*, III (1883), 574.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Diodorus Siculus *op. cit.*, xvi. 15; Justin *op. cit.*, ix. 6.

<sup>5</sup> Coriolani Cepio Nis Dalmatiae de Petri Mocenici Imperatoris Gestis Libri tres, per Robertum Winter, I (Basileae, 1544), 33.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 38.

*Avenimento XXXVI* is based upon the separation motif, which is extremely frequently met with in the history of the Italian *novella*.<sup>1</sup> Occurring in the ancient comedy and the Greek novel, it found favor with the Western world, probably owing to the influence of such works as the Apollonius novel and the legends of Saint Eustachius and Crescentia. It is used again and again in the plots of the Italian erudite comedy of the sixteenth century<sup>2</sup> and in the *novella*.

In the edition of the *Sei Giornate* published at the end of the eighteenth century,<sup>3</sup> another story, unedited up to that time, was added to the thirty-six of the collection. It is the legend of the birth of Attila, King of the Huns, of which there existed, at Erizzo's time, several versions, in poetry and prose, Latin, Old French, and Italian.<sup>4</sup> Erizzo certainly drew on one or several of them; but in order to come to more definite results we should have to compare his version with the rest, a task which can hardly be accomplished in this country, as few or none of those texts are accessible to the investigator.

This study, then, has tried to indicate the sources of twenty-nine tales out of thirty-seven. As we have seen, Erizzo drew on writers of Roman and sometimes of Greek antiquity, on the works of the Italian humanists, on medieval compilations, on a Venetian chronicle, perhaps also on popular poems of Attila, and on Byzantine love and adventure stories. This shows a diversity of sources which might be surprising to anyone not acquainted with the history of the *novella*. To those who have made similar researches in the works of Boccaccio and his successors it will only serve to corroborate well-known facts.

While thus indebted to others for his stories, Erizzo seems to have been more original in the composition of the discourses and discussions contained in the *Avenimenti*. It would be an erroneous assumption, however, to suppose that they are altogether of his own invention.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Decameron*, II, 6; II, 8; Giovanbattista Giraldi, *Ecatommiti*, V, 7; V, 8; Parabosco, *I Diparti*, XIII; Lee, *The Decameron, its sources and analogues* (London, 1909), pp. 34 and 39.

<sup>2</sup> I. Sanea, *La Commedia*, I (Milan, 1911), 365.

<sup>3</sup> Le *Sei Giornate di m. Sebastiano Erizzo*, London (Leghorn) R. Bancker.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Alessandro D'Ancona, *Poemetti popolari italiani*, Bologna, 1889, pp. 230 ff.; P. Rajna, *Rom. XXXVII*, 80.

In a forthcoming article in the *Romanic Review* I have tried to show that for the composition of many of these discourses Erizzo drew on the *Principe* and the *Discorsi* of Niccolò Machiavelli, sometimes taking over whole passages of the Florentine statesman. Nor is this all. The discussion at the end of the *Sei Giornate*,<sup>1</sup> dealing with the intellectual and moral qualities of woman reflects ideas best known by the third book of Castiglione's *Cortegiano*. The beginning of *Avenimento XXXIV*<sup>2</sup> sounds almost like a transcription of chapter xiv of the first book of the same work.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 423.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 401.

<sup>3</sup> *Il Cortegiano del conte Baltasar Castiglione*, ed. by V. Cian (Florence, 1894), p. 33.



## BERNART DE VENTADOUR'S REFERENCE TO THE TRISTAN STORY

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In the matter of dating the *estoire* of the Tristan story, critics, we might say, are divided into two schools. One we may call the German school and the other the French school. The former places the date of the *estoire* near the close of the twelfth century; the latter places the date at the middle of that century, or in the first half of the twelfth century.

The former school gives the following approximate dates of the various redactions of the Tristan story: the *estoire*, second half of the twelfth century; the *Berol*, 1190; the *Thomas*, after 1165; the *Eilhart*, 1190; the *Folie*, the *Continuation of Berol*, and the *Prose Tristan* at later dates.

The French school, headed by Professor Bédier, gives the approximate dates of the various redactions as follows: the *estoire*, before 1154 (1120-50); the *Berol*, 1165; the *Thomas*, 1160; the *Eilhart*, 1190 to 1200; *Folie Douce*, twelfth century; *Folie Berne*, 1170, the *Prose Tristan*, 1230; the *Ulrich von Turheim*, 1250; the *Gotfried von Strassburg*, thirteenth century; *Sir Tristrem*, thirteenth century; and *Tavola Ritonda*, thirteenth century.

Miss Schoepperle, by virtue of her admirable *Tristan and Isolt*, has become the chief exponent and champion of the school that holds to the late date of the *estoire*.<sup>1</sup>

The question of the date of the *estoire* is of the highest importance in the matter of Miss Schoepperle's theory. Her late date for the

<sup>1</sup> By *estoire* we mean that early, if not original, version of the Tristan story that the above-named redactors seem to have taken as their model or source. The chief Tristan versions claim to have a written source. This leads to the conclusion that there was an original Tristan that has been lost.

[While this article was going to press, Mrs. Gertrude Schoepperle Loomis died, after a brief illness, in Poughkeepsie, New York. The editors of *Modern Philology* take this occasion to express their regret that so promising a scholar should have been cut off in the midst of an extremely successful career. Students of modern languages are indebted to Mrs. Loomis not only for various illuminating contributions to the study of Arthurian romance, but also for an excellent edition of an Irish *Life of Columcille*, published, together with a translation and discussion of sources, by her and A. O'Kelleher, in 1918.]

*estoire* is based on the assumption that the *estoire* was "courtly." As the courtly element did not enter until late in the twelfth century, Miss Schoepperle's main theory falls to the ground if we can show that the Tristan *estoire* was already known in the first half, or the middle of that century.

It is not our purpose to enter into a discussion, in this paper, of the courtly elements in the Tristan story. We shall merely remark that the passages that may be cited as being courtly in both the *Eilhart* and the *Berol* redactions are found, almost without exception, in the second part of each.

In discussing the matter of the date, Miss Schoepperle says<sup>1</sup> that M. Bédier takes the year 1154 as a *terminus ad quem* for the *estoire*, and that he is led to do this by an allusion to Tristan in a lyric of Bernart de Ventadour. In a footnote on the same page she states that Golther also accepted this allusion as establishing a *terminus ad quem* for the date of the *estoire*. Bédier says: "A partir de 1154, les troubadours, Bernard de Ventadour, Augier Novella font des allusions à des épisodes de la légende de Tristan, et ces allusions sont si rapides et si sommaires qu'il faut admettre, pour qu'elles aient été comprises, que d'anciens poèmes français étaient répandus déjà au fond de la Provence."<sup>2</sup>

Golther says "Aus Berol, der afz. *Prosa* und *Folie* gewinnen wir somit das Bild eines alten, verlorenen Tristanromans um 1150."<sup>3</sup>

The poem of Bernart de Ventadour in question is Number 44, *Tant ai mo cor ple de ioya*. The reference to the Tristan story in this poem is as follows:

Plus trac pena d'amor  
de Tristan l'amador  
que'n sofri manhta dolor  
per Izeut la blonda.<sup>4</sup>

Miss Schoepperle gives the following reading of these verses:

Tan trac pena d'amor  
Qu'a Tristan l'amador  
Non avenc tan de dolor  
Per Yzeut la blonda.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Tristan and Isolt*, I, 112.

<sup>2</sup> Joseph Bédier, *Thomas, Roman de Tristan*, II, 154-55.

<sup>3</sup> Golther, *Tristan und Isolde*, p. 2.

<sup>4</sup> C. Appel, *Provencalische Chrestomathie*, 1920.

<sup>5</sup> Bartech, *Chrestomathie provençale* (1904 edition), p. 63.

While the wording of these two readings is different, the sense is identical. The former states the question positively, the latter negatively. In both readings it is evident that the reference is to a long and well-defined story. It is more than a mere allusion to Tristan; the reference points definitely to a love story. It implies that it was a story fraught with great grief for the hero. Its application in the poem shows that the name Tristan had already become a synonym for an unhappy lover. In the first reading we are told that the lover, Tristan, suffered many a pain on account of it (love). The passage not only names the heroine, Isolt, but it characterizes her with the epithet, *la blonda*. This epithet describes the very acme of beauty according to French taste, even as today Rostand, describing a Roxane, reaches a climax with the words, *et la plus blonde*.

There are references to Tristan in several other poems of Bernart de Ventadour. Appel calls attention to the name Tristan in the poems numbered 4, 29, 42, and 43 in his edition. Diez also refers to the use of the name Tristan in these lyrics; with Bischoff and Zingarelli he thinks that it may be employed as a pseudonym. In none of these lyrics, however, is the reference as significant as it is in Number 44.

Miss Schoepperle holds that Bédier and Golther are not justified in accepting this reference to the Tristan story as establishing a *terminus ad quem* for the *estoire*, basing her arguments on the variety of readings given of the verses in the poem that are associated with the date 1154; she concludes that, "owing to these variants, it is impossible to determine where the poet was when he wrote the poem or where the lady was to whom he addressed it."<sup>1</sup> Miss Schoepperle then gives these variants as follows: "In one manuscript:

Lo cor ai pres d'amor,  
que l'esperitz lai cor,  
e lo cors estai alhor  
pres de leis en Fransa.<sup>2</sup>

In another manuscript:

Que'l cor ai en amor  
pus de nulh amador  
car l'esperitz en lay cor  
lonh de mi en Franza.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, I, 112-17.

<sup>2</sup> "Crescini, *Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto*, LXIX, dispensa I, p. 78. This is the reading of Ms. C, preferred by Zingarelli, *Studi medievali* III, fasc. 1, pp. 49-68."

<sup>3</sup> "This is the reading of Ms. R. Crescini, *loc. cit.*"

A group of three manuscripts gives:

Mon cor ai en amor  
e l'esperitz lai cor;  
e si'm sui ieu sai aillor  
loing de lieis, en Fransa.<sup>1</sup>

Another group of three manuscripts has:

Lo cor ai pres d'amor,  
que l'esperitz lai cor,  
e'l cors estai sai alhor,  
lonh de leis, en Fransa?<sup>2</sup>

In the first variant there is no comma between *leis* and the clause *en Fransa*. In the last verse of this variant, the scribe must have written *pres* where he should have written *lonh*. The reasons for holding that this is a scribal error are that six of the eight manuscripts have *lonh* instead of *pres* in that position, and that it is impossible to make sense if we keep the word *pres*. It would put the poet's body (*cors*) near her (*leis*, the beloved) in France, and remove the need of his mind or thoughts (*esperitz*) rushing thither (*laï*) as they are represented as doing in the first part of this variant. *Pres* is the opposite of *lonh* and it is a psychological fact that a word often calls up its opposite and is superseded by it. If we substitute the word *lonh* for *pres*, the passage is not only translatable but conforms to the other variants in sense: "My heart is enamoured, or imbued with love, so that my thoughts rush thither, and my body is elsewhere, far from her, in France."

The second variant cannot be satisfactorily translated. Diez in classifying this poem says: ". . . da sie 'fern von der Herrin in Frankreich' geschrieben ist" (showing where he places the poet when he wrote this poem). In a footnote, Diez compares this variant with another as follows: "Der Stelle im P.O., wo das Lied S. 7 steht (Gr. 70, 44):

Et lo cors estai aillor  
Loing de leis en Fransa—

könnte man die Lesart der Handschrift 2701:

Car l'esperitz en lay cor  
Lonh de mi en Franza—

<sup>1</sup> "Ms. AIS. Crescini, p. 78."

<sup>2</sup> "Ms. CMVa. C has *Pres* for *lonh* in the last line. Cf. Crescini, *op. cit.*, 78."

entgegen setzen, welche die obige Annahme umstossen würde, *allein die letztere Handschrift ist zu incorrect, um ein bedeutendes Gewicht in die Wage zu legen.*<sup>1</sup>

The next variant, given in a group of three manuscripts, has a comma between the clauses, *loing de leis* and *en Fransa*.

The last variant, also given in a group of three manuscripts, has a comma between the clauses *lonh de leis* and *en Fransa*.

While the only diacritical mark used in the manuscripts, as shown by the facsimile reproductions given by Appel in his edition of Bernart de Ventadour, is the period, the editors have seen fit to set off *en Fransa* with a comma in six manuscripts as against two where they did not. Furthermore, Appel in the 1920 edition of his *Provencalische Chrestomathie*, not only sets *en Fransa* off with a comma but also sets *alhor* off with a comma. The effect of this is to make the interpretation that the poet was in France when he wrote this poem, all the more imperative.

Leaving aside the question of punctuation, the clause *en Fransa* by virtue of its position could hardly refer to *leis* (Eleanor) either in Provençal, Old French, or in Modern French, unless introduced by a relative. After all, the matter of punctuation is determined by the wording, the word-order, and the sense.

Appel<sup>2</sup> prints side by side the two groups of manuscripts A and V, giving the entire poem, and constructs from these readings his critical text. The stanza in question in Group A is identical with the same stanza in the first group of three manuscripts given by Miss Schoepperle, and Group V of Appel gives the stanza we are considering as it is found in his chrestomathy, 1920, with the exception of *mon* for *mo*, *qe* for *que*, and *lonc* for *lonh*:

mo cor ai pres d'amor,  
que l'esperitz lai cor,  
mas lo cors es sai, alhor,  
lonh de leis, en Fransa.<sup>3</sup>

The punctuation here is identical with that in Group A and Group V; so, if Appel is not responsible for this punctuation, he

<sup>1</sup> Diez, *Leben und Werke der Troubadours*, p. 27. The italics are ours.

<sup>2</sup> C. Appel, *Bernard von Ventadorn, Seine Lieder*, p. 258.

<sup>3</sup> C. Appel, *Provencalische Chrestomathie*, p. 58.

at least accepted it in 1915 (date of his *Bernard von Ventadorn, Seine Lieder*), and did not change it in 1920.

Appel<sup>1</sup> gives a translation into German of the entire poem, where the stanza under discussion reads as follows: "Mein Herz ist der Minne nahe, denn meine Seele läuft dort hin, aber der Leib ist an anderem Orte, hier, fern von ihr (der Geliebten, oder von ihm, dem Herzen), in Frankreich." Thus, Appel takes *pres* as an adverb. It may also be taken as a past participle from the verb *penre*, or *prendre*. This may be the more probably correct reading, for in four manuscripts we have *en* instead of *pres*, in this position. The idiom may be related to the modern French, *épris de*. This makes no material difference in the translation, however, as it would give us: "My heart is imbued with love, so that my spirit rushes thither, but my body is here, otherwhere, far from her, in France."

We have seen that six of the manuscripts clearly put the poet in France when he wrote the poem, and that the two manuscripts that leave the position of the poet in doubt are faulty; one of these two, but for a scribal error, agrees with the other six.

In view of the foregoing facts, Miss Schoepperle is not justified in saying that we do not know where the poet was when he wrote the poem, and the fact that Zingarelli preferred the first variant, according to Miss Schoepperle's remark in her footnote given above, does not do him honor.<sup>2</sup>

The question as to where the lady was to whom Bernart de Ventadour addressed this poem, depends upon *who* the lady was. In other words, if we can answer Miss Schoepperle's objections to connecting the poem with Eleanor of Poitou, we also answer the question as to where the lady was that Bernart de Ventadour addressed. This question can be determined only to a degree of certainty by arguing the reasonableness of the supposition that the poet was addressing Eleanor of Poitou.

Appel states that the oldest information given us about the genealogy of the Ventadours is that furnished us by Gottfried von Viegeois—*Ex Chronico Gaufridi prioris Vosiensis*.<sup>3</sup> From this

<sup>1</sup> *Bernard von Ventadorn, Seine Lieder*, p. 268.

<sup>2</sup> After reading Appel's work on *Bernard von Ventadorn* and Jeanroy's review in *Romania*, XXXVI, 1907, of Zingarelli's *Ricerche sulla vita e rime di Bernart de Ventadorn*, we are led to believe that Zingarelli is not always logical.

<sup>3</sup> *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, XII, 424.

information, and from that furnished by Baluze, *Histoire de la Maison d'Auvergne*, he draws a diagram of the family tree, beginning with Archambaud II, Vicompte de Comborn, and ending with Eble VI.<sup>1</sup>

Eble II was given the title *Cantator*, and he taught our poet how to sing. Both the Latin and the Provençal sources of information are agreed that Eble II was a great lover of the art of poetry. It is only natural, then, that he should take a great interest in Bernart de Ventadour, one of the most celebrated of the Provençal troubadours. It does not matter that he was of humble origin, as attested by the Provençal biographer and the poet Peire d'Alvernhe. The poet's great gift furnished what the fashions of the courts at that time demanded.

Again, for the same reason, it is not strange that Bernart, when he had to leave the court of his benefactor, should turn to another and more brilliant court. It is also natural that that court should have been that of Eleanor of Poitou, for as Appel indicates, there was a close relationship between these two houses. Appel, on this point, quotes an anecdote which he ends with the remark: "Literar-historisch ist uns die Anecdote wertvol weil sie auf die engen Beziehungen Zwischen den Hofen von Poitiers und Ventadour hinweist."<sup>2</sup>

Furthermore, Eleanor was a patroness of poets. Suchier says: "Guilhelm IX, Enkelin Eleanore hat als Königen von Frankreich und mehr noch als Königen von England, wo ihre Neigung mit der ihres Gatten zusammen traff, die Dichter begünstigt."<sup>3</sup>

That Bernart de Ventadour did go to the court of Eleanor is attested by the Provençal biographer, Uc de Saint Circ: "Et el s'en partic et anet s'en a la duqessa de Normandia, q'era joves e de gran valor, e s'entendia mout en pretz et en honor et els benditz de sa lauzor."<sup>4</sup>

Suchier seems to be convinced that Bernart went to the court of Eleanor for he states unequivocally that he went to Normandy to the splendid court of Eleanor, the wife of Henry of Anjou.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> C. Appel, *op. cit.*, pp. vii ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. xi.

<sup>3</sup> *Geschichte der Fransösischen Literatur*, I, 63.

<sup>4</sup> C. Appel, *op. cit.*, p. xiii.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, I, 64: "Er (Bernart) aber zog nach der Normandie an den glänzenden Hof der lebenlustigen Eleanor, der Gattin Heinrichs von Anjou, mit welchem sie 1154 den Thron Englands besteigen sollte und fand bei ihr gute Aufnahme. Nachdem sie Königin von England geworden war blieb er eine Zeit lang in der Normandie zurück."

Appel says: "Wir können nur so viel zugeben, dass Bernard die Dame noch als Herzogin von Normandie, d.h. zwischen 1152 und 1154, besuchte."<sup>1</sup> Diez also accepts this and in fact it is generally conceded that our poet spent some time at the court of Eleanor in Normandy.

The fact that Bernart wins the love of the Viscountess Ebles II, and that this was the cause of his leaving the land, is also given by the Provençal biographer: "Mout duret lonc temps lor amors anz qe'l vescoms, maritz de la dompna, ni las otras gens s'en aperceubutz. E qan lo vescoms s'en fo aperceubutz, en estraignet en Bernart de si."

According to Diez he went away for good: "Bernart verliess also das Schloss, die Wiege seines Lebens, auf immer." That Bernart was not driven away by the Viscount, as supposed by many, but went at the request of the Viscountess herself, who was locked up and closely guarded on account of her indiscretion, is shown by the words: *en estraignet en Bernart de si*, and *Adoncs fetz la dompna dar comiat a'n Bernart, e fetz li dir qe'is partis e is loignes d'aquelle encontrada*. This is borne out by one of Bernart's poems.

The Provençal biographer describes Bernart as a handsome man, a good poet and singer, courtly and educated: "E venc bels hom et adreitz e saup ben trobar e contar, et era cortes et enseignatz."

That Eleanor liked the poet and his singing is also shown by this same biographer: "E plazion li fort li vers e las chanssos d'en Bernart don ella lo receup e l'anret e l'acuillie e'l fetz mout grans plazers. Lonc temps estet en la cort de la duquessa, et anamoret se d'ella, e la dompna s'enamoret de lui, don en Bernartz en fetz maintas bonas chanssos."

We cannot enter into a discussion of the reliability of this Provençal biography. We have followed the version that Appel gives in his 1920 chrestomathy. In his work on Bernart de Ventadour he constructs this from the variants that he there gives and discusses.<sup>2</sup> Suffice it to say that the facts given about the life of our poet in this biography are pretty well supported by references in his own poems and those of other poets. His low birth, for example, is set forth by the satire of Peire d'Alvernhe.

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. xvii.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. xi ff.

After discussing the doubt raised by students like Zingarelli and Stronski, who seem to reject all the evidence furnished by the Provençal poets and hold that they were not in earnest about their love songs, Appel, while admitting that that is largely true in the case of the majority of these poets, says: "Bei unserem Bernart aber dürfen wir uns hinter seinem *Aziman* und *Conort* Wesen von Fleisch und Blut vorstellen, eben so wie hinter Dantes Beatrice und Petrarcas Laura."<sup>1</sup>

Again (p. xxix) Appel says: "Dasz Bernart seine Liebe als wirklich erscheinen lassen will, ist offenbar," and he cites many passages to show this.

Even if we had to admit (which we do not) that Bernart's declarations were purely conventional, it would detract very little from the evidence, since we know that he was at the court of Eleanor and that it was customary for poets to address high-born dames in song.

Appel fixes the date of the birth of Bernart de Ventadour between 1120 and 1130; he<sup>2</sup> was, therefore, in the height of his vigor about 1154.

Bergert says that Eleanor of Poitou, daughter of William X and granddaughter of William IX, the first known troubadour, was born about 1122. This would make her about the same age, or a little younger than our poet. We are further told by Bergert that, "Die von den trobadors genannten oder gefeirten Damen," was married in 1137 to King Louis VII of France, whom she accompanied on his crusade; that, following her faithlessness, she was put aside by the King, and that a council, May 21, 1152, held that the separation was valid on the ground of blood relationship; that, on May 18 of the same year, Eleanor married again, this time the Count of Anjou, Henry Plantagenet; and that: ". . . die Koenigen (Eleanor) hat angeblich in Bernard von Ventadorn einen aufrichtig ergebenen Sänger und Liebenden gefunden, der ihr viele seiner schönsten Lieder gewidmet hat."<sup>3</sup>

We have seen that Bernart de Ventadour, although of low birth, was handsome, a good singer and poet, a courtly and educated man who had no scruples against having an affair even with the noble wife

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. xxviii.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. lix.

<sup>3</sup> *Beihalte zur Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, Heft 46, 1918.

of his benefactor. We have seen this fascinating man go to the splendid court of the gay Eleanor, who was also rather free from scruples against having an affair of the heart with another than her lord; we have seen that she was a patroness of troubadours, that she liked the love poems addressed to her by Bernart de Ventadour, that she fell in love with him and he with her; also that when she left France to ascend the throne of England with Henry of Anjou in 1154, Bernart remained for some time in France. He was young and separated from the object of his desires. It was also fashionable for a troubadour to address his lady love, especially a high-born dame, in song.

What more natural, then, that he should address the poem in question to Eleanor who was far away at that time in England? We cannot discover any other person who would be so likely a subject for the poem as Eleanor. The only other likely person would be the Viscountess of Ventadour and that would put the date of the poem, and with it, the date of the *estoire* earlier even than 1154. Furthermore, this poem must refer to Eleanor because the poet says that he is in France, and if he had been in Provençal he would not have said France.

It is also reasonable to suppose that he composed this poem soon after being separated from Eleanor in 1154, while he still keenly felt his loss. The tone of the poem itself shows feeling combined with the tenets of courtly love.

So while we cannot prove with mathematical accuracy, that Eleanor of Poitou was the lady addressed in our poem, we are yet warranted by the facts in saying that the presumption is very largely in favor of the supposition that she was.

JOHN L. DEISTER

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## THE NINE WORTHIES

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Professor Abel Lefranc in his book *Sous le Masque de "William Shakespeare"*<sup>1</sup> contends that the plays we generally attribute to Shakespeare were, in reality, the work of William Stanley, sixth Earl of Derby. This contention is supported not only by an examination of the Derby family and its relation to the theaters of the day, but also by a study of *Love's Labour's Lost*, *Hamlet*, *As You Like It*, and *The Tempest*, in which the author points out that Stanley was the writer. It will be the purpose of this paper to point out one case where Professor Lefranc's reasoning is at fault. In chapter vi, dealing with *Love's Labour's Lost*, there is an attempt to prove that the Masque of the Nine Worthies (V, ii) is directly indebted to Richard Lloyd's poem on these heroes of romance.<sup>2</sup> Lloyd's poem consists of a short description of each of the Nine Worthies, followed by a series of nine monologues in which each hero explains who he is and what are the foundations for his fame. There is also a short moral added to each monologue.

### I

M. Lefranc first calls our attention to the personnel of the group both in *Love's Labour's Lost* and in Lloyd's poem. The latter contains the conventional Nine: Hector, Alexander, Julius Caesar, Josua, Daniel, Judas Maccabaeus, Arthur, Charles, and Guy of Warwick.<sup>3</sup> In Shakespeare, however, we find only five Worthies—Pompey, Alexander, Judas, Hercules, and Hector, only three of whom are found in the conventional grouping. It is clear at once that Alexander, Judas, and Hector are the only ones finding a parallel in Lloyd's poem. Pompey and Hercules, therefore, as far as the

<sup>1</sup> Abel Lefranc, *Sous le Masque de "William Shakespeare"* William Stanley VI Comte de Derby. 2 vols. Paris, 1919.

<sup>2</sup> Richard Lloyd, *A briefe discourse of the most renowned actes, and right valiant conquests of those puissant Princes, called the Nine Worthies*. London, 1584.

<sup>3</sup> Guy of Warwick was sometimes substituted for Godfrey of Bouillon. See Francis Douce, *Illustrations of Shakespeare*, I, 243.

1584 poem is concerned, are rank outsiders. M. Lefranc does not comment on this strange difference; he finds proof that Alexander, Judas, and Hector come straight from Lloyd, but he fails to explain the origin of Pompey and Hercules. Indeed, it would be difficult to say just why Shakespeare did include them. It is true, as a study of the references to the Nine Worthies will show, that the personnel of the group changed from time to time, a tenth slipping in or a new hero taking the place of an old one. Professor Hart<sup>1</sup> suggests that the inclusion of Hercules may be due to the fact that Whetstone in *Promos and Cassandra* mentions Hercules in connection with the Nine Worthies, although he does not identify him as one of them.<sup>2</sup> We can, however, only conjecture as to Shakespeare's reasons. But M. Lefranc, in order to make his case sound, must not only point out the resemblances between Lloyd's poem and the masque, but he must also account for the differences. If the dramatist used Lloyd, why did he choose only three of the group and add two new ones? On this point the author is silent, except that he feels that the masque ends prematurely, cut short by the message of the king's death. But this, instead of explaining the presence of Pompey and Hercules, makes their inclusion still less indicative of Lloyd's influence.

## II

Professor Lefranc's next argument is to show that the pageant in *Loves' Labour's Lost* is drawn from Lloyd's poem because each of the Worthies in the latter announces himself as follows:

*Josua*: I am the worthie conqueror Duke Josua the great

*Hector*: I am Hector the Peerelesse prince king Priamus eldest sonne

*David*: I am David most daughte of deed, the king of Israell

*Alexander*: I am the great and worthie king, the prince of peerelesse might

And in *Love's Labour's Lost*:

*Costard*: I Pompey am

*Nathaniel*: When in the world I lived, I was the world's commander

*Holofernes*: Judas, I am

<sup>1</sup> *Love's Labour's Lost* (ed. by H. C. Hart, Indianapolis, 1906), p. 119.

<sup>2</sup> Whetstone, *Promos and Cassandra*, Part II, I, iv.

Now, as a matter of fact, this form of announcing characters is conventional. In the stanzas that accompany the mural paintings of the Nine Worthies in the Castle of Manta in Piedmont (ca. 1430) we find these words,<sup>1</sup>

*Ector:* Je fui de troie nee et fis du roy Priam  
 E fuy gant Menelas e la gregoire gans  
 Vindrer asegiere Troie a cumpagne grant;  
*Alisandre:* Jay coquis por ma force les illes d'outramer  
*Judas:* Je viens en Jerusalem, en la grant region  
*Roy Artus:* Je fui roy de Bretagne, d'Escossa e d'Anglaterre  
*Charlemaigne:* Je fui roy, emperaire, e fuy nee de France  
*Godfroy de Bouglon:* Je fuy Dus de Lorraine apres mes ancesours

In the *Verses on Earliest Woodblock* (1454) the Worthies speak thus,<sup>2</sup>

*Hector de Troye:* Je suis Hector de Troie ou li povoir fu grans  
*Le Roy Artus:* Je fuy roy de Bretaigne, d'Escoche et d' Engleterre  
*Godfroy de Buillon:* Je fu duc de Buillon dont je maintins l'onnour

In the Coventry pageant of 1455 we find the following:<sup>3</sup>

*Hector:* Most pleasant pnces recordid that may be  
 I hector of troy that am chefe conqueror  
*Alex.:* I alexander that for chyvalry berithe the balle  
*Josue:* I Josue that in hebrewe reyn principall  
*David:* I Dauid that . . . .  
*Judas:* I Judas that . . . .  
*Arthur:* I Arthur kynge crownyd . . . .  
*Charles:* I Charles chefe cheftan . . . .  
*Julius:* I Julius cesar . . . .  
*Godfride:* I Godfride of Bolloyn kynge of Jerusalem . . . .

In the Woodcuts of the Hotel de Ville at Metz (1460) we find Godfrey speaking as follows:<sup>4</sup>

Je fus duc de lorraine apres men ancessours

<sup>1</sup> See R. S. Loomis, "Verses on the Nine Worthies," *Modern Philology*, XV, 211.

<sup>2</sup> See I. Gallanca, *The Parlament of the Thre Ages* (London, 1915), Appendix XIV.

<sup>3</sup> See Thomas Sharp, *A dissertation on the Pageants Performed at Coventry, Coventry* (1825), p. 148.

<sup>4</sup> See Loomis, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

And in the *Schwerttanzspiel aus Lübeck* the characters announce themselves thus:<sup>1</sup>

*Kaiser Karl:* De Romesche keiser bün ik genant

*Josua:* Got let vör mi di stünne stan

*Hector:* Ik hebbe fochten al mennigen strid

*David:* Ik slög den risen Goliath dot

*Alexander:* De gansse werlt al umme lang mit minen ssepter ik bedwang.

In summing up this phase of his argument, Professor Lefranc says,<sup>2</sup>

On peut dire, en tenant compte de l'allure ridicule donc Shakespeare argément ses neuf Preux, que le procédé et le ton sont les mêmes: ton glorieux et emphatique, sérieux chez Lloyd, burlesque chez Shakespeare, comme l'exigent la conduite et la caractère de sa pièce.

But it is evident from the foregoing references that the style and tone used by Lloyd are not unique; they are, indeed, common to many poems and pageants on the Nine Worthies. As to the burlesque atmosphere of Shakespeare's masque being a satire, as Lefranc implies, on Lloyd's "serious" poem, we need only point again to the references cited to say that the dramatist was in all probability satirizing pageants in general rather than one poem in particular.

### III

Following M. Lefranc's argument, we find that his next point rests on the resemblance between the portrayal of Hector by Lloyd and the burlesque picture of the same Worthy in *Love's Labour's Lost*. In the play we get the following picture of Hector.

*Biron:* Hide thy head, Achilles: here comes Hector in arms.

*Dum.:* Though my mocks may come back on me, I will now be merry.

*King:* Hector was but a Trojan in respect to this.

*Boyet:* But is this Hector?

*King:* I think Hector was not so clean-timbered.

*Long.:* His leg is too big for Hector's.

*Dum.:* More calf, certain.

*Boyet:* No; he is best indued in the small.

*Biron:* This cannot be Hector.

*Dum.:* He's a god or a painter; for he makes faces.

<sup>1</sup> See *Zeitschrift für Deutsches Alterthum*, XX, 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, II, 21.

The following quotation is taken from the descriptive part of Lloyd's poem that precedes the nine monologues,

Hector was indifferent tall, well compact and strong withall,  
 Courteous, quick, and deliuere of might, in armes a very  
     goodly knight;  
 His head was white and curled I finde, his beard was white,  
     he was sandblinde,  
 And somewhat he did lispe also, a gentler wight no man  
     might know;  
 He bore two Lyons combatand, or in asure (I vnderstand).

In commenting on the two passages, M. Lefranc says, "Il est clair que le premier portrait se présente une charge humoristique du second."<sup>1</sup> But one cannot, for two reasons, say with certainty that Shakespeare's description is a "charge humoristique" of Lloyd's Worthy. In the first place the lines, "I think Hector was not so clean-timbered. . . . His leg is too big for Hector's. . . . More calf certain" are at the best only very clumsy and shadowy allusions to Lloyd's words, "Hector was indifferent tall, well compact and strong withall." The Shakespearean lines seem to be much more effective simply as witty repartee on the part of the king and his court concerning the traditional conception of Hector and the ludicrous appearance of Armado in the guise of the Trojan hero than as a caricature of Lloyd's Worthy.

In the second place, if the Shakespearean passage is a burlesque on Lloyd's lines, why did Shakespeare, consummate artist and keen humorist that he was, fail to use the comic material at hand? Why, for instance, did he pass by the excellent opportunities for burlesque offered by Hector's sandblindness and his lisp? Physical deformities and infirmities have always, from the earliest comic passages in the moralities down to the present day, been the stock in trade for the writer of burlesque. It is mere conjecture, of course, but it seems incredible that the playwright, had he been using Lloyd's poem as a basis for his masque, would have satirized so vaguely Hector's stature and have missed completely his dimmed vision and his speech impediment.

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, II, 23.

## IV

In his final argument, M. Lefranc finds what he considers a conclusive proof in the resemblance between the two passages on Alexander. The part of Lloyd's poem quoted by M. Lefranc is as follows:

*Alexander:*

And say myselfe a conquerour vnto the worlds end,  
 . . . . .  
 And marched backe to Babylon, triumphing as a God,  
 Where all the princes, of the east for me made abod.  
 For ouer all the orient I was the soueraigne Lord.  
 . . . . .  
 This puissant prince and conqueror bare in his shield a  
 Lyon or,  
 Which sitting in a chaire hent a battel axe in his paw argent.

And in *Love's Labour's Lost*:

When in the world I lived, I was the world's commander;  
 By east, west, north, and south, I spread my conquering might:  
 My scutcheon plain declares that I am Alisander.

Later Costard says to Nathaniel,

O, sir, you have overthrown Alisander the conqueror. You will be scraped out of the painted cloth for this: your lion, that holds his poll axe sitting on a close stool, will be given to Ajax: he will be the ninth Worthy.

It will be seen that there are two points of contact in the foregoing passages. First, the arms born by Alexander are the same in Lloyd and in Shakespeare; and second, the Worthy's words in both cases are similar. In the Harlian MS No. 2259, reprinted in *Notes and Queries*, Series 7, Vol. VIII, p. 22, we find a poem on the Nine Worthies together with the heraldic arms they bore. The following information is given concerning Alexander: "Alexander, rex paganus, and ante incarnationem. Messidonie. he bere goules a lyon' gold, soyaunt in a cheyre syluer, enbatellyd with a pollax sabill." And Gerard Legh, in his *Accedence of Armorie*, printed in 1591, contemporaneous with *Love's Labour's Lost*, describes Alexander's arms thus:  
 "Geules, a Lion Or, seiante in a Chayer, holding a battle axe Argent."

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 22 ff.

With these two passages indicating that Alexander's arms usually contained a golden lion seated in a chair holding a battle axe, the resemblance between Lloyd's description and Shakespeare's dwindles in significance and proves nothing.

It has been pointed out that Alexander's words in Lloyd and in *Love's Labour's Lost* are similar. But this does not prove that the playwright used Lloyd as a source, for in many of the references to the Nine Worthies, there are expressed the same ideas concerning Alexander that appear in Lloyd and Shakespeare. Glancing back at the passages quoted above, we find in both that Alexander says he has conquered the world and has been victorious in all the points of the compass. Let us then examine other references to see if these ideas are expressed elsewhere.

In a Latin hymn of the eleventh century<sup>1</sup> Alexander is spoken of as "rex maximus." In the *Cursor Mundi* (early XIV Century) Alexander is "the conqueroure."<sup>2</sup>

Jacques Longuyon (ca. 1312) describes Alexander thus,<sup>3</sup>

Alixandre le large, dont je vois ci parlant,  
Qui vainqui Nicholas et Daire le persant  
Et occist la vermine des dessers d'Oriant  
Et saisi Babyloine le fort cité plaisant  
Ou il morut aprés par enpoisonnement.

*The Parlement of the Thre Ages* (ca. 1350) devotes seventy-two lines to Alexander, the first of which are,

After this sir Alysaunder alle the worlde wanne,  
Both the see and the sonde and the sadde erthe.

From the *Morte Arthure* (ca. 1380) attributed to Huchown we take this line, "The eldest was Alexandere, that alle the erthe lowttede."<sup>4</sup>

In *This Warld Is Verra Vanite* (end of fourteenth century) we find these lines,

Alexander that all to bowis  
To tak tribut of town & tre.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Gollancz, *op. cit.*, Appendix I.

<sup>2</sup> See *Cursor Mundi*, Prologue, line 6; Gollancz, *op. cit.*, Appendix IV.

<sup>3</sup> See *Les Voeux du Paon*; Gollancz, *op. cit.*, Appendix VI.

<sup>4</sup> See Gollancz, *op. cit.*, Appendix VIII.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, Appendix IX.

The following couplet<sup>1</sup> expressing the usual idea, comes from the Prologue to the prose *Alexander* (end of the fourteenth century):

Mir ist wol gelungen;  
Al de werlt han ek bedwungen.

Alexander's speech on the mural paintings in the Castle of La Manta in Piedmont (1430) shows the traditional conqueror.<sup>2</sup>

Jay coquis por ma force les illes d'outramer;  
D'Orient jusques a Ocident fuge ja sire apeles.  
Jay tue roy Daire, Porus, Nicole larmires;  
La grant Babiloina fige ver moy encliner;  
E fuy sire du monde; puis fui enarbres.

In the Scotch poem (ca. 1440) *Ane Ballet of the Nine Nobles*<sup>3</sup> we find these lines,

In XII jeres wan throw hard feichtyng  
Al landis vnder the formament.

And the Coventry pageant of 1455<sup>4</sup> contains this stanza:

I alexander that for chyvalry berithe the balle  
Most curi in conquest thro the world am y named.

From these references it is plain that Alexander was traditionally spoken of as the conqueror of the world. There is no need of quoting more, although further references of the foregoing type may be found in Gollancz, Appendix XIV; in R. S. Loomis' article in *Modern Philology*, Vol. XV; in the Tanner MS No. 407, reprinted in the Furness Variorum edition of *Love's Labour's Lost*, p. 283; in the Harlian MS No. 2259, reprinted in *Notes and Queries*, Series 7, Vol. VIII, 22; and in the *Schwertanzspiel Aus Lübeck*, printed in *Zeitschrift für Deutsches Alterthum*, XX, 10-13. This mass of evidence is adequate to show that the writer of the burlesque masque in *Love's Labour's Lost* was simply following tradition in regard to Alexander and was not necessarily indebted to Richard Lloyd.

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, Appendix XV.

<sup>2</sup> See R. S. Loomis, *Modern Philology*, XV, 211.

<sup>3</sup> Laing's *Select Remains* or Gollancz, *op. cit.*, Appendix X.

<sup>4</sup> Sharp, *Dissertation on Pageants*, p. 148.

## V

We have now examined each of M. Lefranc's arguments in his theory that Lloyd furnished the source of Shakespeare's masque and have in each case attempted to relieve Lloyd of any responsibility. This theory is essential to M. Lefranc's main contention that Stanley wrote the plays. Having, as he thinks, proved that Lloyd's poem furnished the dramatist's source for the masque, he proceeds to show that Lloyd was Stanley's tutor, that the two visited Navarre together, that while there Stanley secured his local color for the play, and that Lloyd furnished the pedantic type seen in the character of Holofernes. His argument seems to be:

Lloyd had a great influence on Stanley.

Lloyd's poem influenced the author of *Love's Labour's Lost*.

Therefore, Stanley wrote *Love's Labour's Lost*.

But if we have succeeded in proving that Lloyd's poem did not necessarily influence the author of the play, then we cease to care how much Lloyd influenced Stanley. This study, then, furnishes two conclusions. First, it has shown that the author of *Love's Labour's Lost*, in writing the burlesque masque, followed a conventional and general conception of the Nine Worthies rather than Richard Lloyd's poem of 1584; and, therefore, second, as far as M. Lefranc's argument is concerned, William Stanley, sixth Earl of Derby, did not write the play.

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## A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL MYTH

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About a year ago the writer's attention was called by Professor Kittredge to a paper in *Transactions of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society*, entitled "The First Book Printed by James Ballantyne: Being *An Apology for Tales of Terror*; with Notes on *Tales of Wonder* and *Tales of Terror*." This valuable article, written almost thirty years ago, from material newly come to light, seems to have remained largely unknown. Information regarding the *Apology for Tales of Terror* has, of late years, been creeping into the textbooks; but the "Notes," which are based on a collation of the original editions of all the books,<sup>1</sup> and which show clearly that "Monk" Lewis was not the author of *Tales of Terror*, have had no effect on the Lewis legend, which continues to be restated without variation in books dealing with the subject, down to the present time. The recent appearance, therefore, of a new book on the Tale of Terror, seems to furnish a fitting opportunity to lay the ghost of this ancient error, which has haunted the bibliographies for nearly a century, and now turns up again in the latest contribution to the literature of the subject.<sup>2</sup>

The only collection of tales in verse ever published by "Lewis the Monk-man" was his "hobgoblin repast," *Tales of Wonder*, the far-famed miscellany of ghost and witch ballads, for which he solicited "marvellous" contributions from all quarters, and to which Walter Scott, the young Edinburgh advocate, was proud to contribute five pieces. He was at that time so entirely unknown to the London literary world that Lewis prefaced "The Fire-King," the first in order of his poems, by the statement that the author was the translator of Goethe's *Götz von Berlichingen*, and called attention to the other ballads in the book by "this gentleman." Two editions of

<sup>1</sup> All of these books, including a copy of the exceedingly rare *Apology for Tales of Terror*, were already in the Harvard Library, with one exception, the second edition (1808) of *Tales of Terror*, which was later secured. Since then, they have been collated independently, with the results shown in the following pages.

<sup>2</sup> Birkhead, Edith, *The Tale of Terror. A Study of the Gothic Romance.* (London, 1921.)

*Tales of Wonder* were published in London during the year 1801. Between these two editions, some unknown person published *Tales of Terror* anonymously.

The similarity in titles, the fact that the second edition of *Tales of Wonder* was a single volume, uniform in size with *Tales of Terror*, and the advertisement of the publisher that one would make a good second volume for the other, all helped to obscure the facts, and in 1834 Lowndes, in his *Bibliographers' Manual*, listed *Tales of Terror* along with *Tales of Wonder* among Lewis' works.<sup>1</sup> Others followed suit, and the final seal of authority was set on the misstatement when Professor Morley, in 1887, published as Number 45 of his "Universal Library," the apocryphal *Tales of Terror and Wonder, collected by Matthew Gregory Lewis*. Since then no one seems to have questioned the matter; Lewis has been everywhere accepted as the undoubted author of *Tales of Terror*, and the error so stands in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, and the works of a large number of eminent scholars.

It is unfortunate that Professor Morley did not seem to consider accuracy as of much importance in reprinting these old editions. He doubtless believed Lewis to be the author, or compiler, of both works, and he did good service in making the text more accessible; but his Introduction is worse than useless as a contribution to scholarship, because it is directly misleading as to the main facts. Lewis, he says,

had written, after the wild German fashion, some of the ballads afterwards included in his *Tales of Terror* and *Tales of Wonder*; . . . . Scott had been translating from the German, Bürger's "Lenore" and "The Wild Huntsman"; had written "The Eve of St. Agnes," and he opened his heart and his store to so congenial a friend. Lewis published at Kelso, in 1799, his *Tales of Terror*, followed them up in the next year with his *Tales of Wonder*, and produced afterwards *Tales of Wonder* in London in 1801, in 2 vols., royal 8vo, with additional pieces collected from various sources. In this volume the original books are reprinted, except that four leaves missing in the *Tales of Terror* compelled the omission of one tale, because another copy of the book could

<sup>1</sup> See footnote 3, page 310.

Watt, in his *Bibliotheca Britannica* (1824), lists the anonymous *Tales of Terror* correctly under "Terror" in the subject catalogue; but he also inserts under Lewis' name, between works of 1806 and 1808, "Tales of Terror, 3 vols." (undated). This may be the source of the "Tales of Terror. 2 vols. 1807" listed in the *Life and Correspondence of Lewis*, published in 1839. Nothing whatever is known of such a work, in either verse or prose.

not be found. It is not in the British Museum, and the London Library contains only the 1801 edition of the *Tales of Wonder*. It is in these little books that Scott made his first appearance as a poet.

"Eve of St. Agnes" is here, of course, a mere slip for "Eve of St. John," but the other statements cannot be disposed of so easily. Lewis did not publish *Tales of Terror* at Kelso in 1799. So far as is known, he never published any Tales of Terror at all, in either prose or verse, and the only work that can be found with that title is the anonymous *Tales of Terror*, already mentioned. Nor did he in the "next year," 1800, publish *Tales of Wonder*. His two octavo volumes of *Tales of Wonder*, published in London in 1801, were the first edition of that work, and so could not contain "additional pieces." Moreover, there is nothing by Scott in *Tales of Terror*, and he did not "make his first appearance as a poet" in *Tales of Wonder*; for if that phrase does not apply, strictly speaking, to his anonymous publication in 1796 of his "William and Helen" and "The Chase," the two translations from Bürger that Morley mentions, he surely did make his appearance as a poet when he published under his own name in 1800 his original ballad, "The Eve of St. John."

Furthermore, Professor Morley's statement that he reprinted from "the original books," coupled with his account of these books, would mean, on the face of it, that he reprinted (1) from *Tales of Terror* published by Lewis at Kelso in 1799, a wholly mythical source; and (2) from a hypothetical first edition in 1800 of Lewis' *Tales of Wonder*, which was in reality the second edition of that work, and says so, in capital letters, on the title-page.

As a matter of fact, a comparison of *Tales of Terror* and *Wonder* with the first and second editions of each of the original books, makes it clear that Morley printed the first part of his publication from the first edition of the anonymous *Tales of Terror*, and the second part from the second edition of Lewis' *Tales of Wonder*, which contained thirty-two of the sixty pieces in the first edition. All three of the books in question, the first edition of *Tales of Terror* and the first and second editions of *Tales of Wonder*, are London publications of the year 1801.

But there was a book printed (though not published) at Kelso in 1799 that has to do with both Lewis and Scott in a very curious way. This is the *Apology for Tales of Terror*, of which twelve copies were

printed at Scott's request, for private circulation, by his old school friend, James Ballantyne, who was at that time editor of a weekly newspaper, the *Kelso Mail*. Scott had suggested that Ballantyne try to get some book-printing to do, to keep his types, which were excellent, in play during the rest of the week; and finding him pleased at the idea, had caused him to strike off the dozen copies for his Edinburgh acquaintances, that they might judge for themselves of Ballantyne's skill. But the ballads printed in the *Apology for Tales of Terror* were not, as Lockhart has stated,<sup>1</sup> Scott's "recent pieces, designed to appear in Lewis' collection" (*Tales of Wonder*). Only three of them were by Scott, and these were his two translations from Bürger, already published, and his "Erl-King," translated from Goethe two years previously, and not designed to appear in *Tales of Wonder*, presumably because Lewis preferred his own version of that ballad.

The *Apology for Tales of Terror* has, of course, nothing whatever to do with the anonymous *Tales of Terror*, which was not yet in existence. Its title is explained by Scott's statement that Lewis' collection was "first intended to bear the title *Tales of Terror*, and afterwards published under that of *Tales of Wonder*";<sup>2</sup> and "apology" refers to the long delay in bringing out this work, which Scott was eagerly awaiting. The curious thing is that Scott's connection with the *Apology* became entirely forgotten. The twelve copies dropped out of sight and remembrance, and the work itself, cited under the abbreviated title of *Tales of Terror*, was confused with the anonymous *Tales of Terror*, and then ascribed to Lewis, who had no hand in either book.<sup>3</sup> Yet, for almost a hundred years *Tales of Terror* has passed current in the records of booksellers and bibliographers as one of his undoubted works; as a companion volume, in fact, to his *Tales of Wonder*, the second edition of which, as it happened, had been issued in one volume, at almost the same time, by the same printer and publisher, and in uniform small octavo size—but with

<sup>1</sup> Pollard's edition of Lockhart's *Life of Scott*, I, 275.

<sup>2</sup> In *Essay on Imitations of the Ancient Ballad*.

<sup>3</sup> Lowndes's entry under Lewis' name (*Bibliographer's Manual*, 1834) reads: "*Tales of Terror*. Kelso, 1799, 4to. First edition. . . . London, 1801, 8vo." Then follows "*Tales of Wonder*, London, 1801. 8vo." This confusion of books and editions is, of course, what Morley followed in his Introduction, instead of the printed title-pages.

the important difference that Lewis' name appears on the title-page of *Tales of Wonder* but not of *Tales of Terror*.

It was not until a copy of the forgotten *Apology for Tales of Terror* turned up at a book sale in 1893 that the matter was cleared up. This fell into the hands of a Scottish scholar, Mr. George P. Johnston, a member of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, who collated the various books and at the 1893-94 session of the Society presented the facts in the paper already referred to. The newly discovered *Apology* proved to be John Ballantyne's own copy, with his bookplate in it. It had also an inscription in James Ballantyne's handwriting, presenting it in 1807 to Murray, the publisher, from James Ballantyne and Co., as "the only copy in their possession." Murray apparently gave the book to the poet Campbell, for it also contained his bookplate. Campbell's library was bequeathed to his niece, wife of the Rev. W. A. Hill, Vicar of Maidenhead; and it was at the sale of his books in 1893 that the *Apology* came to light.

This exceedingly rare book, the Abbotsford copy of which was for a long time the only one known to be in existence, is a beautiful 76-page quarto, printed in large, clear type on heavy paper. Besides Scott's "Erl-King,"<sup>1</sup> "The Chase," and "William and Helen"; it contains Lewis' "Erl-King's Daughter," "Water-King," and "Alonzo the Brave and the Fair Imogene" (reprinted from *The Monk*); Dr. John Aikin's "Arthur and Matilda"; and Southey's "Lord William" and "Poor Mary, the Maid of the Inn," this last being the only one in the book to which the author's name is attached.<sup>2</sup>

Lockhart is again in error in including Scott's "Fire-King" here,<sup>3</sup> but Lockhart had never seen or, at any rate, had never examined the *Apology*, as is evident from his misinterpretation of the letter written by Scott to Ballantyne in April, 1800. Scott, he says,

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Johnston is in error in stating that the "Erl-King" in the *Apology* is Lewis'; unless, as might conceivably be the case, the text of the twelve copies varies. He discovered, after he wrote his first paper, that the copy of the *Apology* belonging to Professor Dowden had a different title-page. It was set for octavo size and had James Ballantyne's name on it as printer.

<sup>2</sup> It is not necessary to suppose, with Mr. Johnston, that Scott "forgot" the *Apology* when he later referred to his *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* as "the first work printed by my friend and school-fellow, Mr. James Ballantyne." This was, quite literally, the first "work" printed by Ballantyne, the *Apology for Tales of Terror* being merely a sample of book-printing, and not a "work" in the ordinary sense at all.

<sup>3</sup> *Life of Scott*, I, 275.

alluded in this letter to an intention which he had entertained, in consequence of the delay of Lewis' collection, of publishing "an edition of the ballads contained in his own little volume, entitled 'Apology for Tales of Terror.'" What Scott really said in that letter is this:

. . . . Some things have occurred which induce me to postpone my intention of publishing my ballads, particularly a letter from a friend, assuring me that the *Tales of Wonder* are actually in the printer's hand. In this situation I endeavour to strengthen my small stock of patience, which has been nearly exhausted by the delay of this work, to which (though for that reason alone) I almost regret having promised assistance.<sup>1</sup>

There can be no question that Scott is referring here not to his ballads in the *Apology* but to those that were to appear in *Tales of Wonder*. There was only one in the *Apology* that he had not already published, and this ballad, the "Erl-King," does not seem to have been published during his lifetime. It is quite likely, in view of his too generous admiration for Lewis' work, that he considered his own version of that ballad to be entirely eclipsed by Lewis'.

Of the nine pieces which had been printed in the *Apology*, five were afterward published in *Tales of Wonder*. These are Lewis' three poems, Scott's "The Chase" (under the title of "The Wild Huntsman,"<sup>2</sup>) and Southey's "Lord William." Doubtless both of Scott's other pieces would have been included in the collection, along with his new ballads, if they had been the only translations available; but Lewis preferred his own version of the "Erl-King," and William Taylor's "Lenora," which keeps Bürger's original title.

As to the authorship of the anonymous *Tales of Terror*, it would seem as if even the most cursory examination must have dispelled the illusion that it was the work of Lewis. That the twenty poems in the first edition (the second has twenty-one) are from the hand of a single author is established by his note to the last one, in which he refers to himself as "the author" of the whole book, including the Introductory Dialogue; and there is conclusive internal evidence

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Scott*, I, 279.

<sup>2</sup> Johnston is mistaken in stating that not one of Scott's five pieces in *Tales of Wonder* is in the *Apology*—a mistake probably due to the change in title. Scott at first called his translation of Bürger's "Der Wilde Jäger," "The Chase," and under this title published it in 1796, and printed it in the *Apology* in 1799; but he subsequently changed the title to "The Wild Huntsman," as it appears in *Tales of Wonder*.

that this author was not M. G. Lewis.<sup>1</sup> The verse and diction, except where he is specifically parodied, are utterly unlike his. So are the Augustan personifications and abstractions, the Latin quotations at the head of the poems, and the profuse classical allusions with which "The Mud-King" is annotated. Two of the pieces, moreover, are burlesque imitations of Lewis' own ballads in *Tales of Wonder*, and are dedicated to him by name; and "The Mud-King; or Smedley's Ghost," which closes the volume, is not only said to be written in imitation of "The Fisherman" (one of Lewis' translations from Goethe in *Tales of Wonder*), but it is a satire on Lewis himself. Even if it could be supposed that he would travesty his cherished goblin ballads in this fashion (and he did parody his *Alonzo* because someone else had done so), he would hardly have held himself up to ridicule, in the last one, as a Dunce poet, and brother bard to Smedley, with the allusion emphasized by an explanatory footnote.

What Professor Morley did with the two parodies in *Tales of Terror* that mention Lewis by name is not less mystifying than what he did with the title-pages of his source books. These parodies, "Grim, King of Ghosts," and "The Wolf-King" (a "gothicized" version of *Red-Riding-Hood*), are particularly hideous and successful imitations of Lewis at his very worst. Now, although Morley printed all the other poems in *Tales of Terror* with titles and notes just as they stand in the original, he omitted from the title of "Grim, King of Ghosts" the statement there printed, that it was written in imitation of "The Cloud-King" (by Lewis) and "dedicated [of course] to M. G. Lewis, Esq.;" and he took no notice of the other parody that is dedicated to Lewis, beyond mentioning in his Introduction that four missing leaves compelled its omission. This omitted Tale is "The Wolf-King," the first page of which, at least, containing the title, the dedication, and the first stanza, must have stood intact in the volume he printed from, because he completed the preceding ballad from the reverse side of the leaf.

Another point, which so far seems to have escaped notice, is Scott's reference to Lewis' *Tales of Wonder* in his *Essay on Imitations of the Ancient Ballad*. "A very clever parody," he says, "was made

<sup>1</sup> Some of this was pointed out by H. B. C. in *Notes and Queries* (3d Ser., X, 508) as long ago as 1866.

on the style and person of the author, and the world laughed as willingly as if it had never applauded." As we have no knowledge of any other contemporary parody answering to this description, and as *Tales of Terror* followed hard upon the first edition of *Tales of Wonder*, it seems almost certain that Scott was referring to that work. It is possible, however, that, writing in 1830, he may have had in mind "Fire and Ale," the clever parody of Lewis in *Rejected Addresses*, by James and Horace Smith, published in 1812.

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## J AND I IN MILTON'S LATIN SCRIPT

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In the first edition of Milton's *Minor Poems* in 1645, and in all subsequent editions, the Latin consonantal *I* is denoted by the letter *J*. I first had suspicions as to the correctness of this practice on observing in the facsimile of the autograph copy of the poet's *Ode to Rouse*—printed as the frontispiece by Beeching in his *Poetical Works of John Milton*, 1900—that exactly the same form of letter is used in the very different cases of *Johannem* and *Jnsons*. I here print the letter as *J*, because it looks more like our present *J* than our *I*. The shaft curves at the bottom to the left; the top bar projects little if any to the right, and makes a sweeping curve to the left; there is also a cross-stroke halfway up the shaft, often serving to connect the letter with that which follows ('). There is no instance in the facsimile to show what shape the small *i* takes when used as a consonant. At the end of a word the second letter of a double *i* is prolonged below the line, a habit first observable in Gothic script and developed in the Humanistic hand. In this case surely the form of the letter has no phonetic value; its purpose is to distinguish *ii* from *u*. Scribes further distinguished the two letters by superimposed strokes, running up obliquely from left to right, like the acute accent. These were later replaced by dots. When it was observed that the dot really made everything clear, the *j*-form of the final *i* was abandoned; Milton archaizes in retaining it, although he also uses the dot.

At my request, my friend Falconer Madan, Esq., formerly Bodley's Librarian, examined the manuscript of the *Ode to Rouse*, and sent me the following information:

The forms for *I* and *J* in Milton's Italian hand were absolutely identical. Call them what you will—you cannot be wrong. The form is approximately *y*, sometimes extending  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. below the line, usually on the line. The same form is used for *Jam*, *Johannes*, *Jllic*, *Jmmundus*, both on and below the line.

It is the same with *U* and *V* in sixteenth-century printing, but in that century, *I* and *U* began to be differentiated from *J* and *V*, in accordance [MODERN PHILOLOGY, February, 1922] 315

with differences of sound. But clearly Milton did not so differentiate, in his Italian hand. In print, *Vniversity* is sixteenth century, changing by 1650 to *University*.

Personally I should call the letter *I*, because the early printers in their *Registerum Quaternionum* always omitted, as modern printers do, *J* not *I*. Therefore, if you take the practice of printers from the first, it is clear that they, the actual printers, regarded the letter as *I* (and *V* as our *U*). So do thou likewise.

Dr. Madan also refers to an article in the *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society of London*, Vol. IX (1906) on "Some Points in Bibliographical Descriptions," by A. W. Pollard and W. W. Greg. They state as their principles (p. 35) that in quotations of black-letter type before the middle of the sixteenth century one should print *Johann; Ingolstadt; Venetis; Ulm.* In Roman type it should be *Iohann; Ingolstadi; Venetiis; Vlm.*

As to the small form of the letter, the case is somewhat different. Here Dr. Madan notes that the consonant *j* is always so written by Milton, never *i*, e.g., *juvenilia, justo*. Medial *j* is also thus represented, as *cujus*. Vowel *i* initial and medial is always *i*, never *j*, e.g., *ibis, integro, aliis*. Final *i* following another *i* is *j*; thus *nimij*, and even once *Miltonj*.<sup>1</sup> In the last case, the final *j* is of course not phonetic; Milton never sounded his name "*Miltonge*." We may argue, therefore, that it has no phonetic value as an initial or medial letter, but is used as such primarily for clearness. Even if it be true that Milton was subconsciously influenced by the prevailing style sufficiently to use the *j*-form of the small letter wherever the phonetical practice required it, his own feeling about the matter should be deduced, I believe, from his unphonetic use of the final *j* and his undeviating insistence on but one form for the capital letter.<sup>2</sup>

It is further to be observed that in his English script, the same *j*-form of *I* (*J*) is used where it can by no possibility have the force

<sup>1</sup> Similar evidence may be gathered from the publication entitled *John Milton. 1608-1674. Facsimiles of Autographs and Documents in the British Museum*, 1908. In Plate 1 we find *justas, jure, ejus*; in Plate 2, *studij* (though *ii, iis* in Plate 1). See also *A Commonplace Book of John Milton* (autotype facsimile), 1876.

<sup>2</sup> This subject attaches to that of the use of *i longa* in certain varieties of early mediaeval script. See E. A. Lowe, *Studia Palaeographica*, in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Bavarian Academy for 1910. The same principle, I believe—though this is not Dr. Lowe's view—obtains there as here, namely that it is purely a matter of calligraphy and not of phonetics.

of our present *J*. The most striking case is the use of this form for the pronoun of the first person.<sup>1</sup>

I believe, therefore, that the next editor of Milton's Latin works should banish the forms *J* and *i* from the text. In the former case, as Dr. Madan has said, the choice is between *J* everywhere and *I* everywhere. Some German signs present forms like *Jnhaber*, *Jimportiert*, even in Roman script, but that is the only support that one would get from modern usage for adopting a ubiquitous *J* in a text of Milton. The general style adopted by Milton, probably as a result of his travels in Italy, is well shown in a facsimile of a letter of Pope Julius of 1606.<sup>2</sup> The *J* is similar, except that the top bar is less wavy and lies much closer to the shaft; there is also no cross-piece. This crosspiece is used in Gothic script and black-letter printing,<sup>3</sup> and the top bar in those styles is more like that used by Milton. I venture to believe, however, that these traits were also found in the particular variety of the Italian hand that he most closely imitated.

The question for a modern editor of Milton is not merely one of the looks of the page. In several verses, the metre will grate harsh thunder if *J* is read in place of *I*. Some of these infelicities have been recognized by later editors, and *I* has been tacitly substituted for the *J* of the edition of 1645. Thus in *Eleg.* i. 23: "Non tunc Ionio quicquam cessisset Homero," nobody would accuse Milton of treating the initial *I* of *Ionio* as consonantal, lengthening the following *o* and *i*, and reading "non tunc Jōnio," just because Raworth, the printer of the first edition, with the poet's Italianate form of *I* before him, set up the word as *Jonio*.<sup>4</sup>

Similarly, *Epig.* i. 8 (p. 40) reads: "Liquit Jördanios turbine raptus agros." Here the dieresis tells a tale.<sup>5</sup> A dieresis is not

<sup>1</sup> See W. Aldis Wright, *Facsimile of the Manuscript of Milton's Minor Poems Reserved in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, 1899*, Plate 10.

<sup>2</sup> Steffens, *Latinische Palaeographie*<sup>2</sup>, Plate 116c.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Plate 121.

<sup>4</sup> P. 12. The error is retained in the edition of 1673, but is corrected by Warton and does not appear in the later editions that I have consulted.

<sup>5</sup> Two instances of the dieresis will be seen in the facsimile in Beeching, *Rōssium* and *pōematum*. It will be observed that the two dots are placed one over each letter, not as in our present practice, both over the second letter; with us, a dieresis is indistinguishable from an umlaut. Milton's usage shows, I believe, the origin of the sign, which does not differ from the use of a dot over each of two adjoining 'i's. We think of

used to separate a vowel from a preceding *consonant*. The letter here preceding *o*, therefore, is a vowel; it is intended by Milton to be phonetically an *I* and not a *J*. In his autograph copy, his usual form of the letter doubtless appeared, with the dieresis, to indicate that the two vowels were not to be merged together by synizesis; in the case of *Jonio*, either Milton thought a dieresis unnecessary, not imagining that anybody could here go astray, or else the printer left it out. It is obvious that Raworth uses *J* phonetically, in the fashion of his day. In setting up a manuscript like that of Milton he was bound to make some mistakes; here he should have reproduced Milton's letter by an *I*. This error is repeated in the edition of 1673 (p. 40), but is not in Warton or the later editions.

There are seven other cases that I have observed—there may be others still—in which the later editions, including sometimes that of 1673, show the same indispensable correction.<sup>1</sup> One error, which more easily eludes observation but which none the less would have infuriated Milton, has not yet been ousted from the text. Raworth prints (*Eleg.* iii. 7, p. 16 = 1673, p. 16): "Pulsavitque auro gravidos & jaspide muros." One little letter has changed harmony to discord. I have examined over twenty editions ranging from 1645 to 1914, and only one of them, unheeded by its successors, has restored the harmony by printing *iaspide*.<sup>2</sup> Even Warton, Todd, and the most proper Keightley do not see the pit into which they have cast their poet.

One more case will clinch my argument. I feel that even without the aid of Milton's autographs we could reason out his practice

the dot as a sacred part of the *i*, and of the failure to "dot one's *i*'s" as a kind of decapitation. Originally the dot served merely to set off the letter; it was a tag, not a limb. The crossing of the *t* is a different affair.

<sup>1</sup> *Epig.* ii. 1 (1645, p. 40 = 1673, p. 40): donasse Jacobum (scanned *dō/nās(e)*) *lā/cōbūm*; *Epig.* iii. 1 (p. 41): *dā/rēt J/ācōbūs* (Milton, taught by Homer and Horace, can vary the quantity of syllables in proper names); the edition of 1673 has *lācōbus* correctly; *Epig.* v. 1 (p. 41 = 1673, p. 42): *Jāpātī/ānī/dēm*; *Syls.* i. 4 (p. 41): *Jāpā/tī* (*Iāpetī* 1673, p. 45); *Syls.* ii. 203 (p. 54): *Jā/cōbō* (*Iācōbo*, 1673, p. 55); *Epit. Dam.* 166 (p. 85 = 1673, p. 87): *Jād/gānānā*. A peculiarly flagrant case is *Eleg.* iv. 103: *cīlīs J/āsām* at the end of a verse. In the edition of 1645, one of the dots of the dieresis is discernible above the *e* of *Jesum*; in the edition of 1673, even this trace is absent. The result is a harsh spondaic ending, which Warton naturally remedied.

<sup>2</sup> *Paradise Regained*, etc. Printed for John Sharpe, London, 1827, with Westall's engravings. The editor's name does not appear. This finely printed little book is correct in all the passages cited in the previous note.

in regard to *I* and *J*, merely from the errors of Raworth. My last instance is *Eleg.* iv. 34 (p. 21): *Jnduxitque* (*Induxitque*, 1673, p. 21). Clearly an error like this could not well be made were Milton's use of the *J*-form, like Raworth's, phonetic.

This is a small matter, but it illustrates, nevertheless, two important traits of Milton's temperament, his love of Italy and his reverence of tradition. He rejected the usage followed by the printers of his day and returned to that of the Humanists; *vetus melius est*. In so doing—*horribile dictu!*—he conformed to the practice of the Bishop of Rome.

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## SYLLABLE AND WORD DIVISION IN FRENCH AND ENGLISH

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Considered from the point of view of the mechanism of their production, English possesses two kinds of consonants: "initial" and "final"; whereas in French there is but one, "initial." Of what consequence is this difference in determining the formation and division of syllables and words?

In English, because of the continuity of the articulative effort, the syllable or word division occurs frequently within a consonant. In the pronunciation of *easy*, there are two *z* sounds: one, the implosion, is produced while the position for *z* is being assumed; the other, the explosion, while the tongue is leaving the same position. In such cases, one of the sounds is much weaker than the other, and usually we are not observant of it.

Whether the implosion or the explosion will be strong is determined by the place of the accent. In *position*, the *s* (= *z*) is pronounced with the second or accented syllable; in *difference*, the *f* is pronounced with the first or accented syllable. The plainly audible implosion or explosion is determined by the accented syllable.

In like manner, owing to the continuity of pronunciation in English, combinations of consonants are produced with a remarkable economy of movement. In *head department*, or *sit down*, the *d* of *head* or the *t* of *sit* is produced while the tongue is assuming and holding the position of closure for *d* or *t*; the *d* of *department* or the *d* of *down*, while the tongue is holding and leaving the same position. In such cases, the consonant belonging to the accented syllable is strong; the one belonging to the unaccented syllable is weak, and at times scarcely audible.

This economy of movement does not characterize the production of French consonant groups. In pronouncing *fête de l'indépendance américaine* (Fig. 1), there is a cessation in the expulsion of breath just before the tongue assumes the position for the *t*; after the tongue has assumed position against the teeth and palate, the expiratory effort is resumed; the air in the mouth is maintained an instant

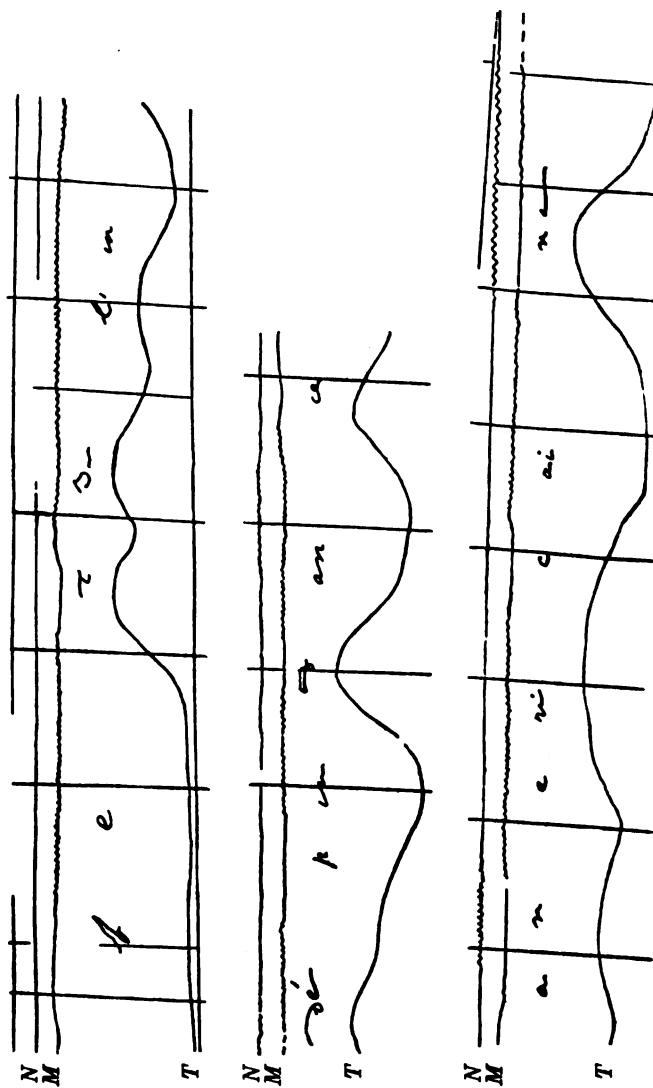


FIG. 1.—*Fête de l'indépendance américaine*

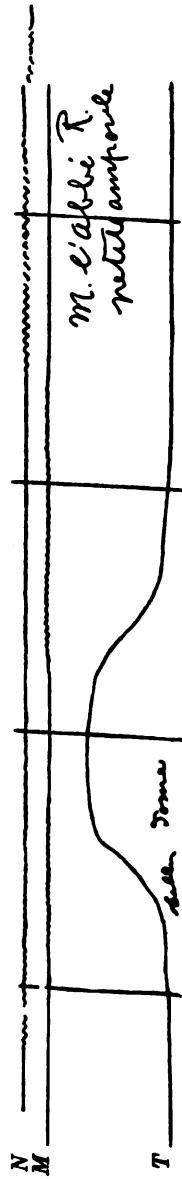


FIG. 2.—*belle dame.* (French)

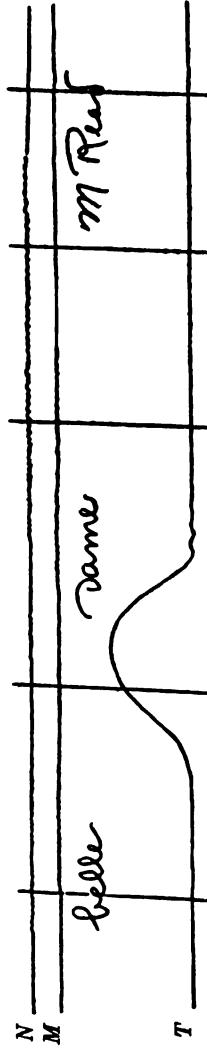


FIG. 3.—*belle dame.* (American)

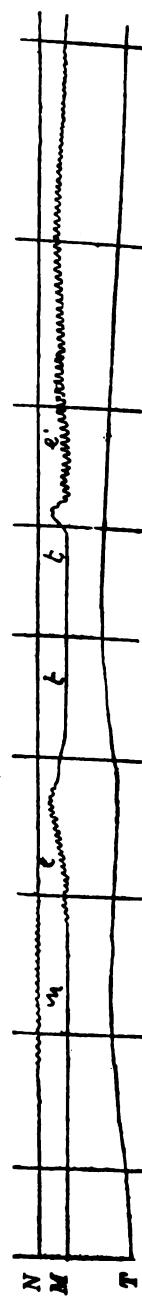


FIG. 4.—*new.* (English)

under pressure behind the tongue, and, as the tongue leaves the position against the teeth, this pressure is released; the simultaneous downward movement of the tongue and the resultant explosion may be noted on the tracing by the upward movement of the line of the mouth (*M*) and the downward movement of the tongue (*T*). Following the explosion of the *t*, the tongue again takes the same position for *d*, and *d* is then pronounced by means of the following mute *e*. Both the *t* and *d* are initial; the *t* of *fête* and the *d* of *de* (Fig. 1) are not produced by a single movement of the tongue as are the *t* and *d* of *sit down*, or the *l* and *d* in the American pronunciation of *belle dame* (Fig. 3), or of the two *t*'s in *netteté* (Fig. 4), but a separate movement of the tongue may be noted in the line *T*, for each consonant.

If the end-consonant and the beginning-consonant are both voiced or both mute, the tongue leaves the position of closure of the end-consonant sufficiently to permit of the explosion of the consonant, but does not return to a neutral position which would permit the *ampoule*<sup>1</sup> to refill with air, and, on its explosion as the tongue assumes position for the beginning-consonant, produce a separate distinctive curve.<sup>2</sup>

Thus in the French pronunciation of the *l* and *d* in *belle dame* (Fig. 2), or of the two *t*'s in *netteté* (Fig. 5), or the two *l*'s in *qu'elle l'a dit* (Fig. 6; cf. *qu'elle a*, Fig. 7), two separate curves do not appear in the tracing for the line *T*, but the time is that of a double articulation.

The treatment of consonant groups in English and French pronunciation is radically different: in English as many consonants as

<sup>1</sup> The size of the *ampoule*, or rubber bulb, is indicated by the accompanying figure.



<sup>2</sup> The experiments reproduced in this article were made with the *appareil inscripteur* at the laboratory of experimental phonetics directed by Abbé Roussetot at the Collège de France.

The upper line, *N*, gives the vibrations of the larynx taken through the nose; the second line, *M*, the vibrations from the mouth; the lower line, *T*, the movement of the tongue. For further detail, cf. my former article, *Modern Philology*, XIV (1916), 414.

For a description of the *appareil inscripteur*, cf. Roussetot, *Principes de Phonétique*, I, 61-101, or his *Précis de Prononciation française*, p. 14.

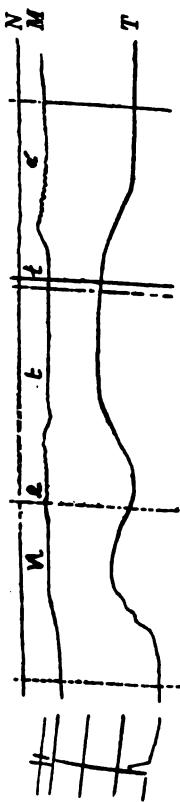


FIG. 5.—*nœuds*. (French)

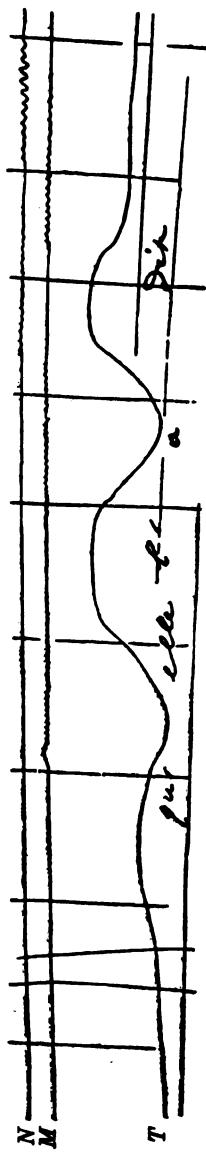


FIG. 6.—*qu'elle a dit.* (French)

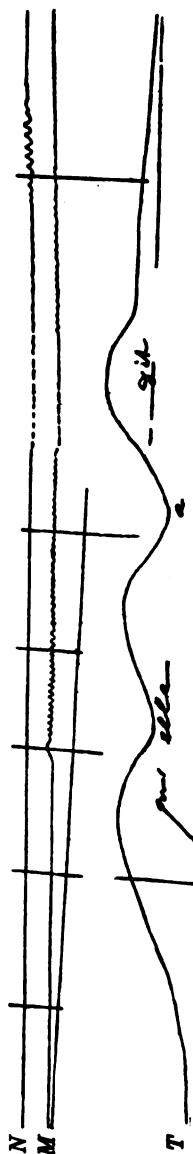
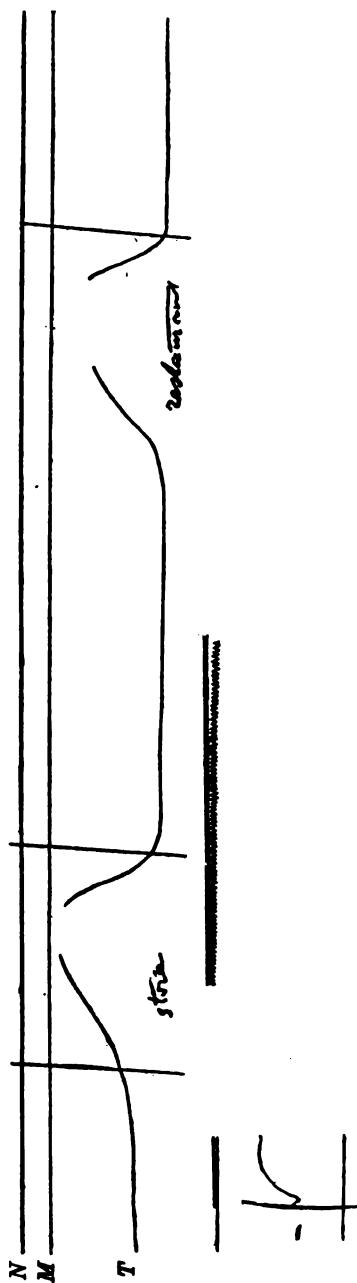
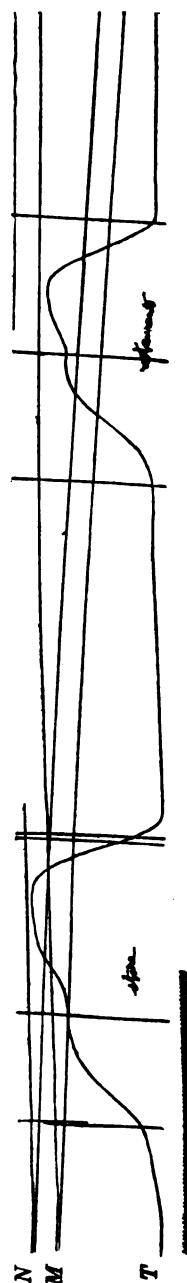


FIG. 7.—*qu'elle a dit.* (French)

Fig. 8.—*store; restaurant.* (Parisian)Fig. 9.—*store; restaurant.* (M. Lotte)

possible are pronounced with the accented syllable; in French, the whole group is placed with the second syllable, or, where mechanical difficulties make this impossible, the first consonant is pronounced as an initial consonant with the first syllable, and the remainder of the consonant group is pronounced with the second syllable.

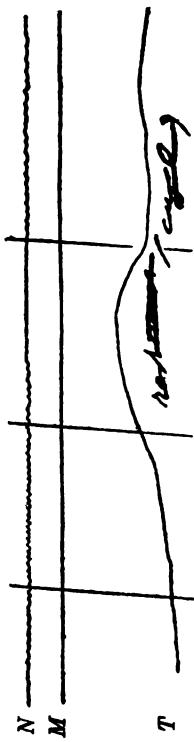
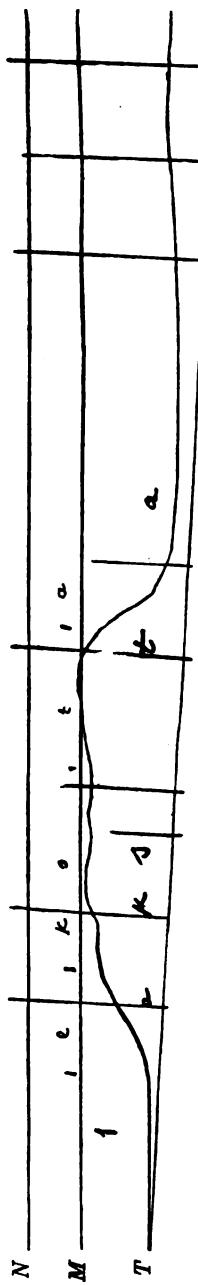
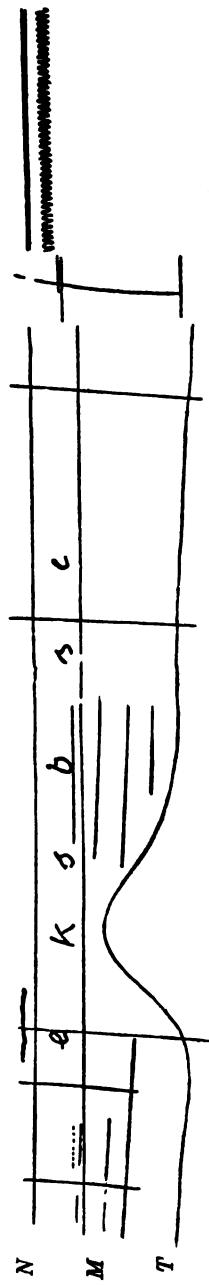
In Mr. Paillard's Parisian pronunciation of *store* and *restaurant* (Fig. 3), the line of the tongue, *T*, presents the same sort of curve for *st* in both words; *s* and *t* are pronounced initially also and belong with the second syllable, Mr. Paillard pronouncing the word *re s'to rã*, the spacing representing the place of syllable division.

In Mr. Lote's pronunciation (Fig. 9), one may note the similarity of curve for *st* of both words, and, in addition, that Mr. Lote takes more time for the pronunciation of *st* in *store* than for *st* in *restaurant*; were the word divided into syllables between *s* and *t*, *s* and *t* would occupy more time in *restaurant* (because of the pause for the syllable division) than in *store*, where the pronunciation is continuous.

The curve of the line *T* for *st* in Figures 8 and 9 is characteristic of "initial" consonants;<sup>1</sup> the curve of the line *T* for *st* in Figure 10 (Eng. *restaurant*) is typical of final consonants. In the pronunciation of the English word, the consonants tend to be pronounced with the accented syllable; *s* is final or produced with the preceding vowel and the syllable division occurs between the implosion and the explosion of the *t*.

In the French word *extase* (Fig. 11), the movement of the tongue as indicated by the line *T* produced a separate curve for each of the consonants of the group *k s t*. The pronunciation may be figured *e k' s'ta z'*; *k*, as shown by the sudden curve, is an initial consonant pronounced by means of the explosion (') and not by means of the preceding vowel *e*; *s* and *t* are initial consonants; *s* with its separate explosion produces the effect of vocalization; *t* is pronounced by means of the vowel *a*. As indicated by the spacing, the syllable

<sup>1</sup> As I have shown in my former article (p. 419), all end-consonants in French, if analyzed with respect to the manner of their production, are not final at all, but initial, that is, produced by means of a following explosion. In English words the end-consonants are normally final or produced by means of the preceding vowel, while the vocal organs are assuming and maintaining the position characteristic of the consonant; initial consonants occur in English at the end of a word as a result of a phonetic necessity only, brought about by an accidental combination of consonants.

FIG. 10.—*rest.* (English)FIG. 11.—*ecstasie.* (French)FIG. 12.—*ecstasy.* (English)

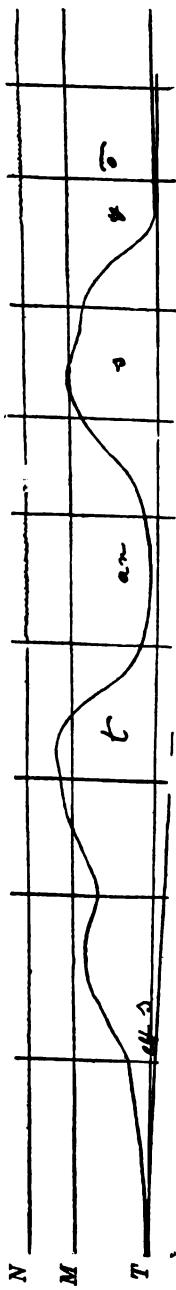


FIG. 13.—Fr. extension. (Abbé Rouselet)

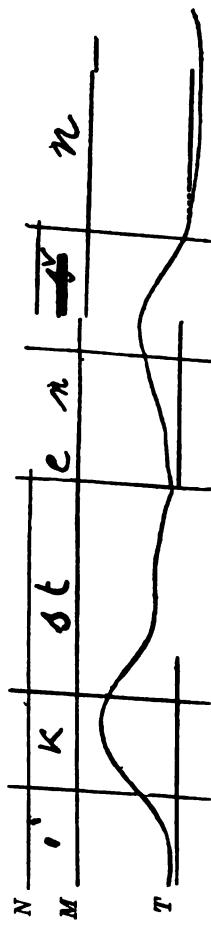


FIG. 14.—Eng. extension. (F. Durant Fox)

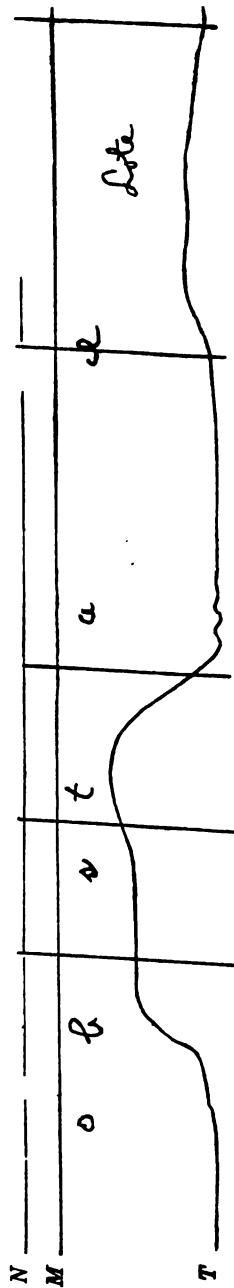


FIG. 15.—Fr. obstacle. (Lotz)

division occurs after *k*, and *s* and *t* are pronounced with the second syllable.

In English *ecstasy* (Fig. 12), *k* and *s* are pronounced with the first syllable, *t* with the second; the pronunciation is continuous, the consonant positions are not held, and the transition from one consonant position to the other is so rapid that *k s t* presents but a single curve. *Ecstasy* is divided into syllables thus, *eks ta si*.

In Abbé Rousset's pronunciation of *extension* (Fig. 13), the first curve of the line *T* is *k*, the second, *s't*; in the pronunciation of the English word *extension* (Fig. 14) by Mr. F. Durant Fox, of the University of London, there is but one curve for all three consonants.

*o b' s'ta k'lé* figures Mr. Lote's pronunciation of French *obstacle* (Fig. 15), and *obs ta kel*, Mr. Jackson's American pronunciation of the English word *obstacle* (Fig. 16).

Figures 17 and 18 present types of the pronunciation in the two languages of the groups *tr*, *pr*, *kr*, etc. In English (Fig. 18), the transition from *t* to *r* is so rapid that the two consonants offer but a single curve and from a comparison of the lines *T* and *M*, the explosion of the *t* and the production of the *r*, in part of their duration, are simultaneous. In Figure 17, there are two distinct curves for *t* and *r*; the explosion of the *t*, registered in the line *M* by a slight upward curve precedes the production of the *r*. The English pronunciation may be indicated *tras*, and the French, *t'ra s'*.

At the end of words, the difference in treatment of the consonant group is no less marked. In French *théâtre* (Fig. 19), by comparing the curves of *t* and *r* in *trace* (Fig. 17), one may note the separation of *t* and *r* and their characteristic "initial" curves (cf. my former article, p. 417). Likewise, that they are initial is shown by the vibrations in the lines *N* and *M* after *r*, marking the voiced explosion by means of which *r* is pronounced. In Figure 20, note the low, flat curve of the final *t*; *r* is also a final consonant pronounced by means of an indistinct vowel preceding it (cf. so-called vocalic *m*, *l*, etc., in the Germanic languages). In Figure 20, *theater* is purposely accented on the second syllable and divided thus, *the at er*; French *théâtre* (Fig. 19) is pronounced *thé à t're*.

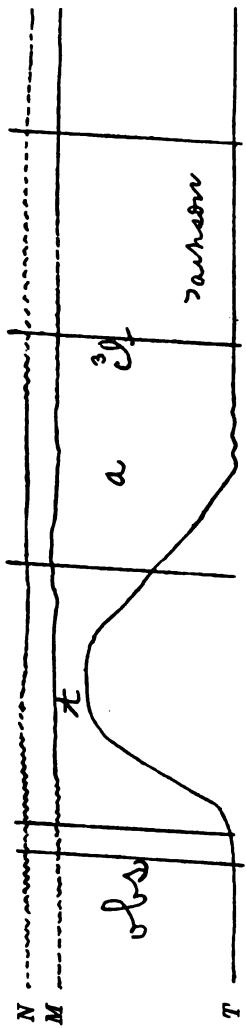


FIG. 16.—Eng. *obstacle*. (American)

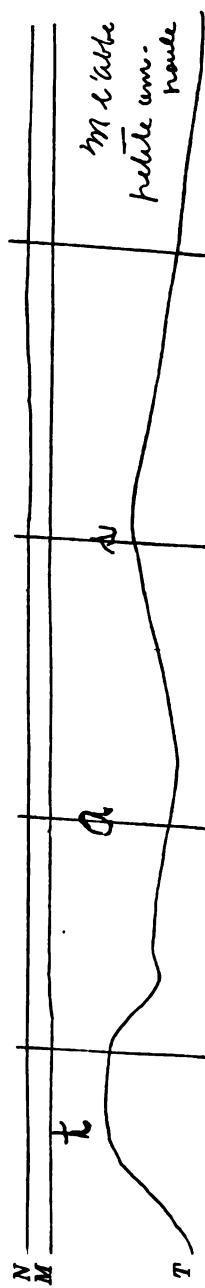


FIG. 17.—*true*. (French)

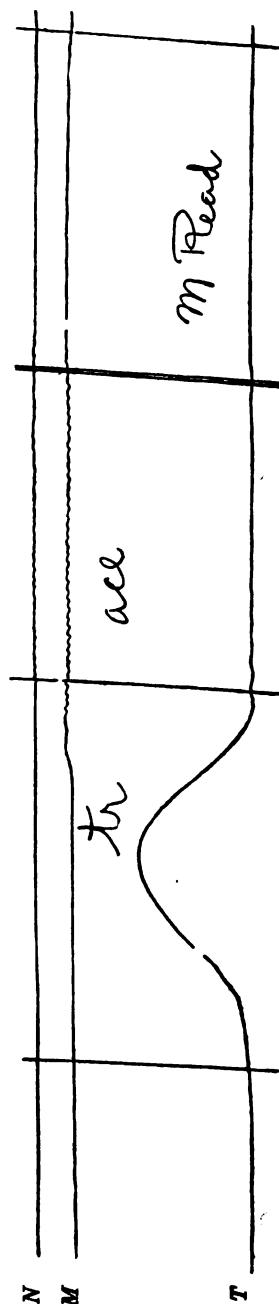
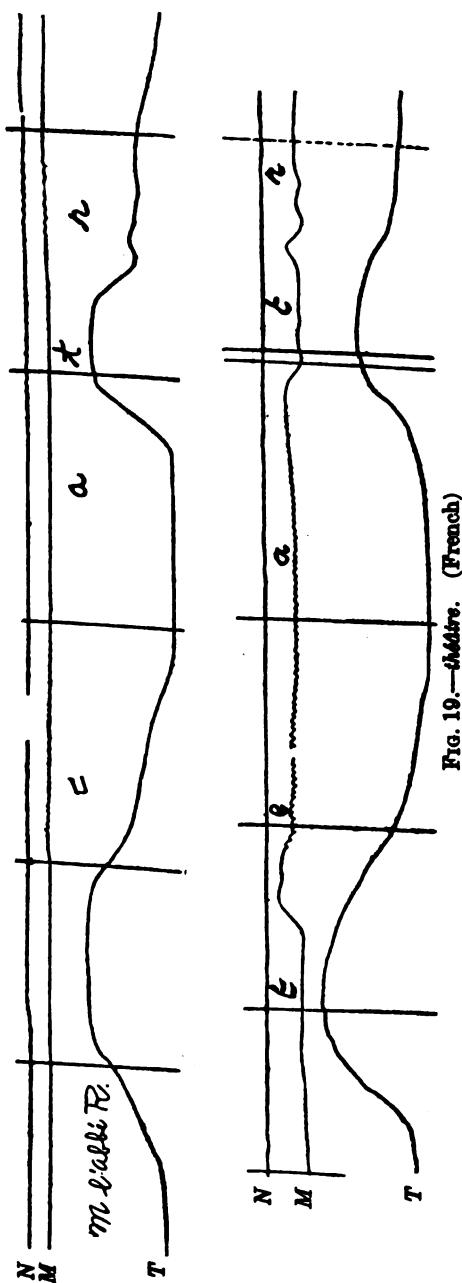


FIG. 18.—*tree*. (English)

FIG. 19.—*Mire*. (French)

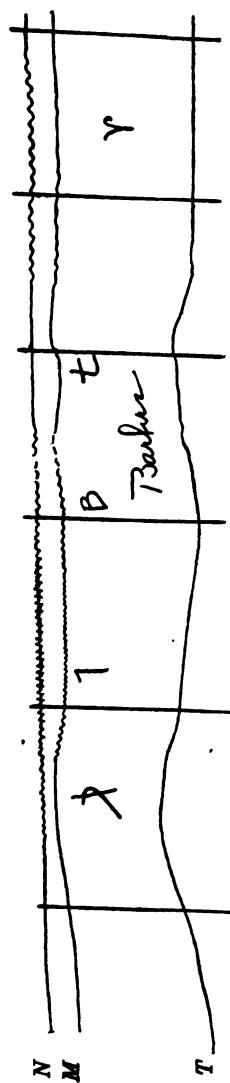
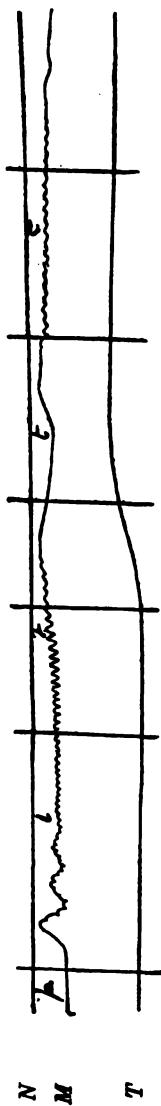


FIG. 20.—*a*) *theater*. (English) *b*) *theater*. (American)

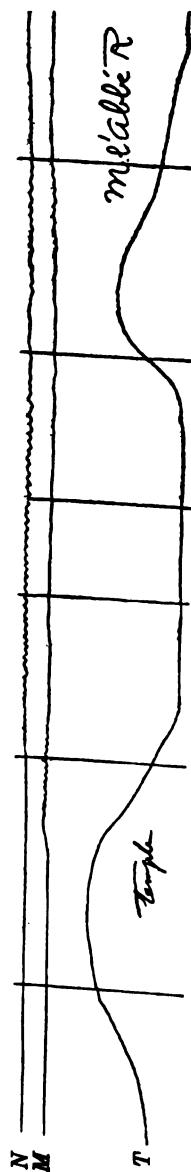


FIG. 21.—Fr. *temple*. (Abbé Roussetot)

In Figure 21, French *temple* is pronounced *tā p'le*, and in Figure 22, English *temple* is pronounced *tem pel*; the pronunciation of the English word is continuous and the syllable division occurs between *m* and *p*. However, one lip-position serves for both consonants: the implosion is *m*, the explosion, *p*.

Diphthongs proper abound in English and even single vowels are all more or less diphthongized. These diphthongs are distinguished by the continuous articulative effort and the gradual shifting of position of the vocal organs, characteristic of English pronunciation in general. French, on the contrary, possesses no diphthongs at all in the English sense of the term; thus in *oui*, the *u* position is taken definitely, held an appreciable length of time, then a quick transition is made to the *i* position which is held in turn without change in position of the vocal organs. In English *we*, the position of the vocal organs is ever changing during the pronunciation of both *w* and *e*. French efforts to imitate the English pronunciation of *they*, *though*, etc., do not afford examples ordinarily of a gradual change of position of tongue, jaw, etc., but rather the pronunciation of two distinct vowels with a rapid transition between them.

Like French, English makes certain *liaisons* or *linkings*, but in a wholly different manner. In French, a consonant between two vowels does not "link" the vowels together, but is pronounced entirely with the second vowel. A consonant at the end of the final word of a breath-group or of a sentence is pronounced by means of an explosion (or indistinct vowel which may be voiceless) following it; if there is no pause between the word to which the consonant belongs and the next word beginning with a vowel, then a separate indistinct vowel or explosion is unnecessary for the pronunciation of the end-consonant; the consonant utilizes the beginning vowel of the following word, thus *il a* is pronounced *i la*; *ils ont*, *i l'zō*, etc. The term *linking* is descriptive of the English pronunciation of *when ever*, *not at all*, and similar word groups. One may figure the pronunciation, *hwen nev ver* and *not ta tal*.

Because of the constant change of position of the vocal organs required in the production of "final" consonants, a drawl in English is only a normal pronunciation "slowed down"; whereas, owing to the absence of final consonants in French, *positions are held and*

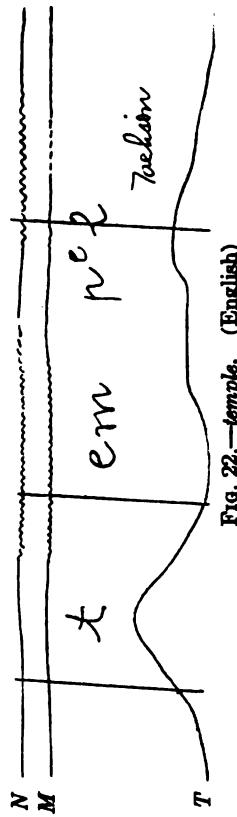


Fig. 22.—*temple.* (English)

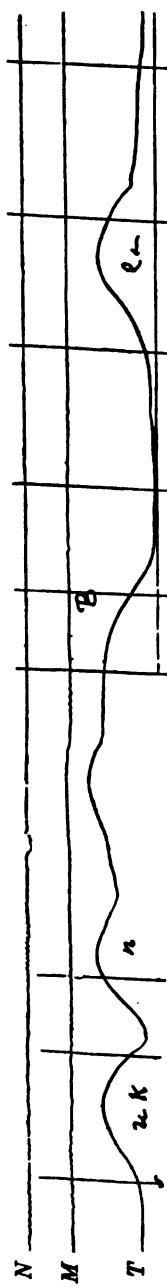


Fig. 23.—*vous connaissez* *Balfe?* (Abbé Rousselot)

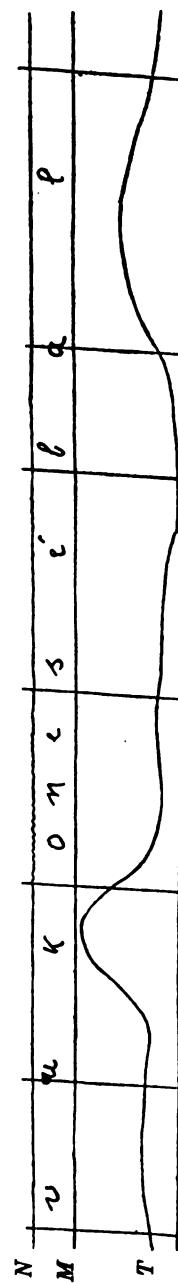


Fig. 24.—*vous connaissez* *Balfe?* (Fox)

*transitions are rapid; no Frenchman drawls, the mechanism of the language does not permit it.*

This difference in general movement may be best appreciated by comparing Abbé Rousselot's (Fig. 23) and Mr. Fox's (Fig. 24) pronunciation of *Vous connaissez Bâle?* The respective curves for *k* indicate that Mr. Fox pronounced with more energy than Abbé Rousselot, but in the tracing of Abbé Rousselot's pronunciation, there are distinct curves for *n* and *s*, for which curves are very slight or even lacking in Mr. Fox's pronunciation. In Mr. Fox's pronunciation there is gradual change, and positions of vowels and consonants are not held but are only points of passage on the path to the next position, which, on being reached, is likewise only a point of transition. On the contrary, Abbé Rousselot takes positions definitely, holds them an appreciable length of time, and makes his transitions during the cessation of the articulative effort.

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# Modern Philology

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## SOME SOURCES OF THE *ROMAN DE LA MOMIE*

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The *Roman de la momie*, "précédé d'une dédicace à Ernest Feydeau," appeared first in the *Moniteur universel* during March, April, and May, 1857. It was not the first time that Gautier had been attracted to the exploitation of Egyptian material. In 1831 he published in *le Gastronome* a mediocre story entitled "Un repas au désert de l'Egypte," a would-be fantastic tale in which the element of horror arises from the odor produced by the mummies used as fuel in preparing the meal of a group of Bedouins. "Une nuit de Cléopâtre" appeared in *la Presse* during November and December, 1838, and "le Pied de la momie" was published first in the *Musée des familles*, 1840 (reprinted in *l'Artiste* as "la Princesse Hermonthis"). Furthermore, he had, in 1856, written for the *Moniteur universel* a review of Ernest Feydeau's pretentious work, *Histoire des usages funèbres et des sépultures des peuples anciens*, which had appeared in the course of the year.

In addition to the general fascination exercised upon the minds of the Romantic generation by the Orient, there were special reasons why Gautier's fancy should have been attracted to Egypt. The first half of the century had seen great enthusiasm for Egyptian exploration and for scientific studies of Egyptology, an enthusiasm manifested by the work of Denon, of Champollion le jeune, of Cailliaud, of Prisse d'Avennes in France; of Belzoni, of Rossellini, of Passalacqua in Italy; of Wilkinson, of Birch, of Hoskins in

England; of Lepsius in Germany; by the opening of the Egyptian exhibits in the Louvre, in the British museum, and at Turin—to mention only the most striking examples of this activity, the results of which were accessible to the French public in the form of books, of elaborate reproductions in black-and-white drawings, or, as in the case of the Louvre exhibit, of numerous objects found in Egyptian tombs. Indeed, the Louvre exhibit must be kept in mind as one of the most likely sources for such a visualist as Gautier.

The tales preceding the *Roman de la momie* in which Gautier utilized Egyptian material are rather conventional in their local color. They give little evidence of effort to do more than profit by the picturesque and suggestive character of an Egyptian background. But with this last story the case is different. The book was composed largely under the influence of Feydeau, to whom it was dedicated. The author writes:

Je vous dédie ce livre qui vous revient de droit. ... L'histoire est de vous, le roman est de moi; je n'ai eu qu'à réunir par mon style, comme par un ciment de mosaique, les pierres précieuses que vous m'apportiez.

Feydeau, too, testifies to the importance of his share in the composition of the novel. He relates how he became acquainted with Gautier as a result of the latter's notice in the *Moniteur* of Feydeau's work on Egypt. He then continues:

Nous parlâmes de l'Egypte. ... Déjà germait dans l'esprit de Gautier le désir de faire un livre sur cette contrée si peu connue. ... Il me demanda de bien vouloir le diriger dans la tâche qu'il se proposait d'entreprendre. ... Et le *Roman de la momie* naquit de cette première conversation. ... Nous nous voyions presque chaque jour ... nous feuilletions ensemble les cartons de dessins que j'avais rassemblés depuis longtemps pour écrire mon ouvrage d'archéologie; je lui expliquais tout ce qui était demeuré obscur pour lui dans les arcanes de la vieille Egypte, et le roman se faisait ainsi, en causant, dans l'esprit de l'auteur. ... Quelques fragments de manuscrits hiéroglyphiques traduits par M. de Rougé, la lecture attentive de la Bible de Cahen,<sup>1</sup> et surtout ... la faculté d'intuition ... mirent Gautier en état de se tirer d'affaire. Il était si bien parvenu à connaître la vieille Egypte que les rôles se trouvaient parfois renversés entre nous. ...<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There are few, if any, traces in the novel of particular indebtedness to this work, on which Flaubert drew largely for *Salammboë*.

<sup>2</sup> Théophile Gautier, *Souvenirs intimes* (Paris, 1874), pp. 87-94, *passim*.

It is no doubt true that Feydeau was a mediocre Egyptologist. Despite this pretentious volume his career as an archaeologist was brief, and whatever echo his name awakes today is due rather to the somewhat meretricious realism of *Fanny* and of *Daniel*. He was, however, well informed on the externals of Egyptian archaeology and had profited cleverly by the investigations of others, whose records and drawings he had liberally used. The novelist had but to read his book, to study its admirable cuts, to utilize the references in the footnotes, and to visit the Egyptian room in the Louvre, in order to find all the material he needed for the type of reconstitution of Egypt that his genius would dictate to him—that is, the Egypt that would strike the eye of a Romantic painter.

The results are evident in the *Roman de la momie*. It is the longest of Gautier's Egyptian stories and represents an ambitious attempt at a reproduction of many aspects of life in ancient Egypt: palaces, tombs, costumes of princess and king, triumphal processions, agricultural scenes, royal Thebes.

According to the story, a young English nobleman, accompanied by a German Egyptologist, offers a Greek dealer in mummies and ancient Egyptian sundries a large sum for an unopened tomb and its contents. The Greek leads them to such a tomb in the valley of the sepulchers of kings. In it they find, to their amazement, the mummy of a woman. Upon unrolling the swaddling bands the Englishman and the scientist find a body of great beauty in an amazing state of preservation. From a papyrus scroll found with the corpse they learn the story of Tahoser, daughter of the high priest, Pétamounoph, whose beauty, beheld by the Pharaoh as he returned triumphant from war, so charmed the king that he made her his queen. This was the Pharaoh of Exodus. After his death, Tahoser reigned in his stead and was buried in the tomb prepared for her vanished lord. The dramatic interest is provided by the fact that Tahoser, though of lofty birth, becomes enamored of the handsome face of a young Hebrew steward of the king's lands, who in his turn loves the beautiful Rachel. Tahoser escapes from her palace to win Poëri's love, by becoming his servant if no other way is open. She learns of Poëri's love for Rachel, but, mindful of the example of Jacob, the three have worked out a pretty plan for the foundation

of a patriarchal establishment, when, her whereabouts having been betrayed, Tahoser is borne away by the monarch, who has come in person to seek his runaway beauty.

The book has no great value as a novel. The characters are but automata drawn in hieratic poses, like Egyptian statues. The interesting element of such a book by such an author lies, as might be expected, in its pictorial aspect, in which respect, as in several others, it resembles its more illustrious successor, *Salammbô*.

The germ of the story is to be found in a passage from Champollion's letters. Gautier inverted the facts as reported there, but the similarities are so great that this was almost surely his point of departure. The rest of the story and its connection with the exodus of the Israelites is, of course, Gautier's invention. Champollion recounts thus an incident of his visit to a tomb in the valley of the tombs of kings:

*Le temps ayant causé la chute du stuc appliqué par l'usurpateur Rhamesse ... je distinguai sur la porte principale les légendes d'une reine nommée Thaoser, et le temps ... a mis à découvert des tableaux représentant cette même reine, faisant les mêmes offrandes aux dieux et recevant des divinités les mêmes promesses ... que les Pharaons eux-mêmes dans les bas-reliefs de leurs tombeaux. ... Il devint donc évident que j'étais dans une catacombe creusée pour recevoir le corps d'une reine, et je dois ajouter d'une reine ayant exercé par elle-même le pouvoir souverain, puisque son mari, quoique portant le titre de roi, ne paraît qu'après elle dans cette série de bas-reliefs ... j'ai dû reconnaître ... dans la reine Thaoser la fille même du roi Hôrus, laquelle succédant à son père, dont elle était la seule héritière en âge de régner, exerça longtemps le pouvoir souverain ... sous le nom de la reine Achenchersès.<sup>1</sup>*

A comparison of this passage with Gautier's account of the opening of the coffin brings out the similarities and the differences.

On fit sauter le couvercle et Rumphius [the German Egyptologist] ... poussa un cri de surprise ... : "une femme! une femme!" s'écria-t-il, ayant reconnu le sexe de la momie à l'absence de barbe osirienne et à la forme du cartonnage. Le Grec aussi parut étonné. ... La vallée de Biban-el-Molouk est le Saint-Denis de l'ancienne Thèbes et ne contient que des tombeaux de rois. La nécropole des reines est située plus loin, dans une autre gorge de la montagne. ... Par quelle singularité, par quel miracle, par quelle substitution, ce cercueil féminin occupait-il ce sarcophage royal! "Ceci dérange, dit le docteur à lord Evandale, toutes mes notions et toutes mes théories, et

<sup>1</sup> Champollion le jeune, *Lettres écrites d'Egypte et de Nubie* (Paris, 1833), Thirteenth Letter, p. 254.

renverse les systèmes les mieux assis sur les rites funèbres égyptiens ... ! Nous touchons sans doute à quelque point obscur ... de l'histoire. Une femme est montée sur le trône des Pharaons et a gouverné l'Egypte. Elle s'appelait Tahoser, s'il faut en croire des cartouches gravés sur des martelages d'inscriptions plus anciennes; elle a usurpé la tombe comme le trône. ... ”<sup>1</sup>

Not only does Gautier invert the rôles of the occupants of the tomb, but to produce a sharper effect he exaggerates the unusualness of finding a woman entombed in the valley reserved for kings.

Of the passages to be studied let us consider first the account of the search and discovery of the inviolate funeral chamber as related in pages 13–26 of the novel. Much space is occupied by conversations between the various parties to the search, but the essentials are based on a passage from Champollion's letters quoted by Feydeau, and on the story of a similar adventure of the explorer Belzoni as retold by Feydeau, accompanied by cuts showing the ramifications of the passageway that led to the “golden chamber” of the sarcophagus itself. Champollion supplied many exact details of the topography and appearance of the valley entered by the explorers, and suggests the effect that such a spot would have on the imagination of the beholder. Gautier's rôle is to heighten the visual effect of the picture, to intensify the impression of barrenness, of solitude, of awfulness made upon the adventurer.

We give in parallel columns, first Champollion's text, then that of Gautier:

#### CHAMPOILLION

Nous avons tous pris la route de la vallée de Biban-el-Molouk, où sont les tombeaux des rois de la 18<sup>e</sup> et de la 19<sup>e</sup> dynastie. Cette vallée étant étroite, pierreuse, circonscrite par ses montagnes assez élevées et dénudées de toute espèce de végétation. ...

Having established his party in the tomb of Rhamsès IV, he continues

... la vallée des rois, véritable séjour de la mort, puisqu'on n'y trouve

#### GAUTIER

On arriva bientôt à l'étroit défilé qui donne entrée dans la vallée de Biban-el-Molouk. On eût dit une coupure pratiquée de main d'homme ... plutôt qu'une ouverture naturelle. ... Sur les parois à pic de la roche tranchée, l'œil discernait vaguement d'informes restes de sculptures rongées par le temps. ... De chaque côté s'élevaient des masses énormes de roches calcaires, rugueuses, lèpreuses, effritées, fendillées, pulvérulentes, en pleine décomposition sous l'implacable soleil. ... L'on n'eût

<sup>1</sup> *Roman de la momie*, Charpentier (1876), pp. 44–46.

## CHAMPOILLION

*ni un brin d'herbe, ni êtres vivants, à l'exception des schacals et des hyènes.* [Twelfth Letter, pp. 178 ff.]

Feydeau's text (pp. 178 ff.) quotes further from the Thirteenth Letter (p. 221):

C'était dans la vallée de Biban-el-Molouk à Thèbes qu'était l'emplacement de la nécropole royale ... une vallée aride, encaissée par de très hauts rochers à pic, ou par des montagnes en pleine décomposition ... et dont les croupes sont parsemées de bandes noires, comme si elles eussent été brûlées en partie; aucun animal vivant ne fréquente cette vallée de mort. ... En entrant dans la partie la plus reculée de cette vallée, par une ouverture évidemment faite de main d'homme, ... on voit bientôt au pied des montagnes ... des portes carrées, encombrées pour la plupart ... ces portes donnent entrée dans les tombeaux des rois. ... Les vallées sont presque toutes encombrées de collines formées par les petits éclats de pierre provenant des effrayants travaux exécutés dans le sein de la montagne.

## GAUTIER

pas trouvé dans toute la vallée une pincée de terre végétale; aussi pas un brin d'herbe, pas une ronce, pas une liane, pas même une plaque de mousse ne venait interrompre le ton uniformément blanchâtre de ce paysage torréfié ... de larges zébrures noires, pareilles à des cicatrices de cautérisation, rayonnaient le flanc crayeux des escarpements. ... Un silence absolu régnait sur cette dévastation; aucun frémissement de vie ne le troublait ni palpitation d'aile, ni bourdonnement d'insecte; ... la cigale même, cette amie des solitudes embrasées, n'y faisait pas résonner sa grêle cymbale ... et de loin en loin s'arrondissaient des monticules provenant des éclats de pierre arrachés aux profondeurs de la chaîne excavée par le pic opiniâtre des générations disparues ... [Roman de la momie, pp. 14-17, passim].

Throughout this passage Gautier introduces epithets of color, of light: "blanc grisâtre sur un fond de ciel indigo presque noir"; "cette teinte crue et bleue des pays torrides, qui paraît invraisemblable dans les pays du Nord"; "Sur la paroi éclairée ruisselait en cascade de feu une lumière aveuglante comme celle qui émane des métaux en fusion"—obtaining thus a vividness of visual impression all his own.

The novelist then imagines the discovery of the entrance of a tomb:

C'était une sorte de portique creusé carrément dans le roc vif: sur les parois latérales, deux piliers couplés présentaient leurs chapiteaux formés

de têtes de vache, dont les cornes contournaient en croissant isiaque. Au-dessus de la porte basse, aux jambages flanqués de longs panneaux d'héroglyphes, se développait un large cadre emblématique; au centre d'un disque de couleur jaune, se voyait à côté d'un scarabée, signe des renaissances successives, le dieu à tête de bétier, symbole du soleil couchant. En dehors du disque, *Isis et Nephthys*, personnifications du commencement et de la fin, se tenaient agenouillées, une jambe repliée sous la cuisse, l'autre relevée à la hauteur du coude selon la posture égyptienne, les bras étendus en avant avec une expression d'étonnement mystérieux, le corps serré d'un pagne étroit que sanglait une ceinture dont les bouts retombaient.

This picture is evidently based on a cut given by Feydeau of the tomb of Rhamsès, son of Meiamoun (opposite p. 179) supplemented by a quotation from the Thirteenth Letter of Champollion:

Le bandeau de la porte d'entrée est orné d'un bas-relief qui n'est au fond que la préface à toute la décoration des tombes Pharaoniques. C'est un disque jaune, au milieu duquel est le soleil à tête de bétier, c'est à dire le soleil couchant, entrant dans l'hémisphère inférieur; à la droite du disque est la déesse Nephthis, et à la gauche la déesse Isis ... ; à côté du soleil et dans le disque, on a sculpté un grand scarabée, symbole de la régénération ou des renaissances successives ... [Feydeau, p. 189].

All the details of Gautier's description are to be found in the cut—cow-headed figures, posture of the kneeling divinities, and their costumes—and Champollion gives the facts necessary for the interpretation, except the symbolic value of the images of the goddesses, which is given by Feydeau (p. 108), who refers to them as "emblèmes du commencement et de la fin." Gautier departs from his sources only in using the term *pagne* of a tight-fitting full-length garment, whereas it indicates rather a vestment covering the body only from the waist to knee, and in not mentioning the jars held in the hands of the figures as they appear in the cut.

In its difficult journey along the passageway hewn through the rock, Gautier's party follows in every detail a route similar to that of Belzoni, to whose disappointment upon the occasion of his discovery of the tomb of Menephtha-Seti he refers in the story (p. 21). Feydeau reproduces Belzoni's story (pp. 180-81), and, what is more, he gives four excellent cuts that show in detail the interior of the passageway with all its windings and the elaborate ornamentation of its walls. Gautier's explorers were confronted by the same difficulties—steps hewn in the rock, yawning pit mouth, chamber

with no exit—that Belzoni had to overcome. (*Roman de la momie*, pp. 22-35.) The novelist needed to invent nothing. He had but to follow the plan traced for him, to re-work Belzoni's narrative so as to give it life, to supply the color lacking in the drawings, and to add the dramatic touch of the footprint preserved in the dust, "aussi éternelle en Egypte que le granit." His description of the sarcophagus itself and of the mummy is, however, made up of other elements, as we shall see.

One passage in the early part of this episode (p. 21) may well be based on Feydeau.

En déchaussant la dalle pour passer dessous leurs leviers ... ils mirent à nu parmi le sable une multitude de *petites figurines* hautes de quelques pouces, en *terre émaillée bleue ou verte*, d'un travail parfait, mignonnes statuettes funéraires déposées là en offrande par les parents et les amis, comme nous déposons des couronnes de fleurs au seuil de nos chapelles funèbres; ...

In discussing the objects found in tombs Feydeau says:

Quelques unes de ces statuettes de pierre émaillée, verte ou bleue, sont de véritables chef-d'œuvres. ... D'autres statuettes semblables, également en grand nombre, sont habituellement enfouies devant la porte des tombeaux ... je crois que, véritables témoignages de souvenir et d'attachement, elles étaient apportées par les amis et les parents qui venaient visiter la tombe, après l'ensevelissement du défunt [pp. 209-10, *passim*].

Gautier made one slight departure from his source. He speaks (p. 28) of the *psychostasie*:

le juge Osiris assis sur son trône ... et les déesses de la Justice et de la Vérité amenant l'esprit du défunt devant le tribunal de l'Amenti.

Now, the cut (Pl. II) shows only one goddess and no Amenti, and it seems altogether possible that the author, wishing to make his picture of the judgment of the soul complete, utilized a passage from Feydeau (pp. 120-21) and the fine cut opposite, a facsimile of a *Rituel funéraire* showing the *psychostasie*:

Le haut de la scène est occupé par les quarante-deux juges assesseurs d'Osiris. ... Au fond de la salle, le mort est introduit par la déesse Thmét, figurée sous la forme de la justice et de la vérité, nue, sans tête, le buste surmonté d'une plume d'autruche.

The phrase following the name of the goddess in the preceding sentence probably accounts for Gautier's two divinities.

What Lord Evandale and his party saw when they penetrated into the tomb chamber is taken directly from a cut and the accompanying text in Passalacqua, *Catalogue d'antiquités* (Paris, 1826, pp. 123 ff.), as was pointed out first by Moret (*Revue d'histoire littéraire* [1899], pp. 362–66) and later by H. C. Lunn (*French Quarterly*, Vol. I, No. 4 [October, 1919], pp. 176–77). To be sure, Passalacqua's cut is beautifully reproduced by Feydeau, but details of color and of form selected by Gautier must have come from the Italian explorer's text as is established by Lunn.<sup>1</sup> However, he added from Feydeau (p. 204) two details that appear neither in the cut nor in Passalacqua's text. The first is as follows:

*Aux angles du sarcophage étaient posés quatre vases d'albâtre oriental du galbe le plus élégant et le plus pur, dont les couvercles sculptés représentaient la tête d'homme d'Amset, la tête de cynocéphale d'Hapi, la tête de chacal de Soumaoutf, la tête d'épernier de Kebasnif: c'étaient les vases contenant les viscères de la momie enfermée dans le sarcophage* [p. 41].

In the second place, Gautier notes that beside the tomb *une effigie d'Osiris, la barbe nattée, semblait veiller sur le sommeil de la mort* [p. 42].

This detail does not appear in Passalacqua's account of the tomb found by him, but it does in the story of Belzoni, which Gautier followed in Feydeau's version (p. 180) up to the moment when his party entered the "salle dorée":

*Une grande statue d'Osiris, en bois peint en noir, de quatre pieds de hauteur, se dressait dans la salle dorée, auprès du sarcophage.*

This detail is not given, however, in the translation of Belzoni to which I have had access (3d ed., London, 1822). We are told by Feydeau that Belzoni had constructed in a house in Paris a replica of this tomb, but I do not know whether Feydeau or Gautier saw the exhibit.

<sup>1</sup> Lunn does not refer to Moret, so the presumption is that the two arrived independently at the same conclusions. The former's article entitled "How Théophile Gautier Made Use of His Sources in *le Roman de la momie*," is, we are told, but a summary of a longer unpublished study. My own studies for this article had been nearly completed when Lunn's investigations came to my attention. I naturally omit material that would but duplicate what is already in print. It is of interest, however, to note with Lunn that Gautier followed the cuts reproducing Belzoni's expedition to the tomb chamber of Menephtha-Seti rather than the explorer's text or Feydeau's version of it. Belzoni calls one of the mural figures a *renard*, whereas it is obviously a *chacal* as Gautier calls it. In another case Gautier refers to the *mitre* on the head of one of the personages, whereas it is not mentioned in the texts.

Feydeau's record of the custom of placing the entrails in jars is as follows (p. 80; cf. pp. 80, 87, and cut):

... on les embaumait [the entrails] avec des épices, puis *on les déposait en quatre vases différents*, faits de toute matière, depuis l'argile cuite jusqu'à l'*albâtre oriental et au porphyre*. Ces vases sont de forme ovoïde tronquée et leurs couvercles sont surmontés de *têtes de dieux différents*: le vase contenant l'estomac et les gros intestins est couvert de la *tête humaine d'Amet*; celui renfermant les petits intestins, couvert de la *tête cynocéphalique d'Hapi*; les poumons et le cœur sont déposés dans le vase couvert de la *tête de chacal de Saumaouff*,<sup>1</sup> enfin le foie et la vessie sont renfermés dans le vase couvert de la *tête d'épervier de Kebshnif*.

Passalacqua catalogues in his exhibit four groups of similar vases (pp. 74, 168) of "*albâtre oriental rubanné*," but he calls the last-named divinities Satmauf and Nasnès. Feydeau remarks in another place of these vases:

Habituellement chacun d'eux était déposé dans une boîte en bois placée dans le tombeau, aux *quatre angles du cercueil* ... [p. 103].

One more element of the decoration of the chamber seems to owe its specific form to a cut in Feydeau and to the accompanying text. His exposition of a drawing of the last judgment reads in part:

Le haut de la scène est occupé par les *quarante-deux juges assesseurs d'Osiris, accroupis sur deux lignes*, tous armés d'une épée et coiffés d'une plume emblème de justice. ... Les têtes ou les masques de ces quarante-deux juges sont très variés: celles qui portent la forme humaine ont des coiffures différentes, les autres affectent la forme de divers animaux, tels que crocodile, serpent, ibis, épervier, chacal, bétail, hippopotame, lion, chien et cynocéphale [p. 121].

Gautier writes (p. 40):

Des Justices acéphales amenaient des âmes devant des Osiris ... , qu'assistaient les quarante-deux juges de l'Amenti accroupis sur deux files et portant sur leurs têtes empruntées à tous les règnes de la zoologie, une plume d'autruche en équilibre.

Having conferred royal dignity on the occupant of this marvelous burial chamber, Gautier does not forget what is due her state, and instead of adopting the wooden coffins found by Passalacqua in what was probably the tomb of a high priest, he writes:

Au milieu de la salle, se dressait massif et grandiose le sarcophage creusé dans un énorme bloc de basalte noir que fermait un couvercle de même

<sup>1</sup> Note the variation in spelling: Champollion (*Egypte ancienne* [Paris, 1839], p. 261) has the same spelling as Gautier.

matière, taillé en dos d'âne. Les quatre faces du monolithe funèbre étaient couvertes de personnages et d'hieroglyphes aussi précieusement gravés que l'intaille d'une bague en pierre fine [p. 41],

basing, no doubt, his choice on a passage from Feydeau:

Mais les grands personnages de l'ordre militaire ou sacerdotal, les *Pharaons et les princes étaient habituellement déposés dans de riches sarcophages en basalte ou en granit, creusés dans un seul bloc énorme et décorés sur leurs faces intérieures et extérieures de scènes religieuses et de sujets mystiques empruntés au rituel funéraire* [p. 204].

Furthermore, Gautier could see in the Louvre the sarcophagus of Rhamsès that forms the basis of Feydeau's statement, which ends on the next page with the assertion:

Tous les sarcophages des rois inhumés à Biban-el-Molouk sont, à peu de chose près, semblables à celui de Rhamsès.

When the inner casket is opened, disclosing the mummy inclosed in a gorgeous *cartonnage*, what we see (pp. 47-49) resembles very closely the brilliantly colored cut given by Feydeau (p. 82), except for the female head-dress and the green faces of the funeral gods and the sacred serpents. Gautier's word painting is quite as brilliant as the cut copied from a mummy in the collection of Triandafilo at Thebes and commented on at length in Feydeau's text, which gives other general details that Gautier found to his liking:

... les cheveux des femmes étaient représentés avec les ornements et les nattes qu'elles portaient de leur vivant ... parfois aussi une large fleur de lotus s'épanouit sur son front. ... L'énorme coiffure de la momie, composée de tresses fort serrées, séparées par de larges bandeaux, et surmontée de la fleur de lotus, dominait le tout comme sujet principal de la peinture.

It is enough to quote two sentences from Gautier's reproduction of Tahoser's head-dress to indicate how he took his clue from his source and heightened the effect:

Une multitude de fines nattes, tressées en cordelettes et séparées par des bandeaux, retombaient, de chaque côté du masque, en masses opulentes. Une tige de lotus, partant de le nuque, s'arrondissait au-dessus de la tête et venait ourrir son calice d'azur sur l'or mat du front, et complétait, avec le cône funéraire, cette coiffure aussi riche qu'élégante.

Upon removing this envelope the explorers find new cause for wonder. First appears the mummy swathed in fine wrappings and richly ornamented, then the toilet articles for the other world.

For this passage Gautier is indebted to Passalacqua and, secondarily, to Feydeau, as will appear from the following citations, though he may have seen similar Egyptian female ornaments in the Louvre collection. Most of Passalacqua's treasurers seem to have found their way to Berlin, but Feydeau refers to the presence of such subjects at the Louvre.

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Un lacs d'étroites bandelettes en fine toile de lin ... enveloppait la tête; *les baumes avaient coloré ces tissus d'une belle teinte fauve*. A partir de la poitrine, un filet de minces tuyaux de verre bleu ... croisait ses mailles réunies à leur point d'intersection par de petits grains dorés, et, s'allongeant jusqu' aux jambes, formait à la morte un suaire de perles digne d'une reine; *les statuettes des quatre dieux de l'Amenti, en or repoussé, brillaient rangées ... au bord supérieur du filet*. ... Entre les figures des dieux funèbres *s'allongeait une plaque d'or au-dessus de laquelle un scarabée de lapis-lazuli étendait ses longues ailes dorées* [pp. 51-52].

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Les momies de quelque distinction ... sont assez souvent ornées par un réseau de perles en verre émaillé ... qui couvre la partie supérieure de la momie dans l'intérieur du cercueil. ... *Les quatre génies de l'Amenti avec un grand scarabée sans hiéroglyphes*, en bois peint ou doré, ou en terre émaillée, se trouvent alors fortifiés vers la partie supérieure du filet. Quelquefois ... des petits scarabées ou des petites divinités se trouvent enfilés sur le dernier fil de l'extrémité près du cou des momies ... [p. 176].

## FEYDEAU

*Parfois un véritable suaire tressé, en filet de perles de couleur, les courrait de la tête aux pieds; parfois aussi ... il ne dépassait pas la ceinture. Un de ces suaires, conservé dans la collection de Triandafilo, n'est autre qu'un véritable filet à larges mailles composées de très longues perles. Une longue plaque d'or verticale brille au milieu, au-dessous des quatre génies de l'Amenti en or repoussé. Un beau scarabée en lapis-lazuli étend ses longues ailes d'or au-dessus des génies* [p. 83].

It is clear that Gautier either had seen the same object as Feydeau or that he practically reproduced his friend's text, for up to this point the movement of the two accounts is much alike. The rest

of the passage, however, seems to be an echo of Passalacqua, who gives an inventory of the objects found with a particularly interesting female mummy.

## GAUTIER

*Sous la tête de la momie était placé un riche miroir de métal poli. ... A côté du miroir un coffret en terre émaillée ... renfermait un collier composé d'anneaux d'ivoire, alternant avec des perles d'or, de lapis-lazuli et de cornaline. Au long du corps, on avait mis l'étroite cuvette carrée en bois de santal ou de son vivant la morte accomplissait ses ablutions parfumées. Trois vases en albâtre rubanné, fixés au fond du cercueil, ainsi que la momie, par une couche de natrum, contenaient les deux premiers des baumes d'une odeur encore appréciable, et le troisième de la poudre d'antimoine et une petite spatule pour colorer le bord des paupières et en prolonger l'angle externe [pp. 51-52].*

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*Cette surprenante momie ... avait été ... enveloppée toute nue dans des bandelettes ordinaires de toile, mais imbibées d'un baume qui leur donnait une couleur foncée, brun-rougedtre. ... Sous la tête de la momie était placé le miroir métallique 659<sup>1</sup>, qui est ... le plus beau qui soit sorti de toutes les fouilles faite en Egypte. Près de lui se trouvait le petit coffre en terre émaillée 842. ... Il renfermait le collier 591 qui mérite d'être placé au nombre des plus curieux, par les anneaux en ivoire ... dont il est presque entièrement composé, ayant, au surplus, quelques perles en or, lapis-lazuli et en cornaline. ... Le long de la momie, étaient placés le 853, espèce de cuvette carrée, en bois, qui probablement aura servi à notre beauté ancienne pour se laver le visage par quelque eau préparée; et les 677, 678, et 685, trois petits vases d'albâtre, de formes différentes. Le 677 ... contient une quantité assez remarquable de baume ou parfum, jadis liquide. Le 678 ... avait ... un bouchon en toile, qui cachait de l'antimoine pour teindre les yeux ... et dont l'usage est prouvé ... par un instrument de bois, arrondi à l'un de ses extrémités, que j'ai trouvé dans le vase même. Le 685 paraît aussi avoir contenu quelque parfum, mais il n'en reste que de faibles traces. Tous ces objets, de même que la momie, étaient strictement collés au fond du cercueil par un baume qu'on y avait versé [pp. 159-60].*

<sup>1</sup> The figures indicate the number of the object in Passalacqua's collection.

The professor then proceeds to uncover the mummy, and the passage that follows is evidently based on Feydeau and on Passalacqua.

## FEYDEAU

Toutes les momies sont plus ou moins soigneusement enveloppées de bandelettes. ... Les bandelettes recouvrent le visage comme le reste du corps ... on enveloppait séparément avec des bandelettes de toile, parfois de mousseline, chacune de ses parties. *Les doigts, la main, le bras et tous les autres membres.* ... *La toile la plus fine était celle qui touchait immédiatement la peau.* ... Tout en enveloppant ainsi le corps, on lui donnait une certaine attitude réglée, soit par l'usage, soit par la loi ... les femmes ont habituellement les mains réunies sur la poitrine; on en a rencontré cependant quelques-unes voilant d'une main leurs organes sexuels, de l'autre leur sein, dans la chaste et gracieuse attitude de la Vénus de Médicis [pp. 81-82].

Feydeau refers here to a passage from Passalacqua (pp. 282 ff.), but both he and Gautier certainly knew another passage from the same author (p. 160):

La jeune beauté ... se trouvait aussi embaumée dans une attitude très gracieuse et non-ordinaire. Sa main droite ... ayant de même les doigts gracieusement pliés, semblait indiquer avec l'index le bas de son ventre, vers lequel le bras droit était mollement étendu. Le gauche se trouvait plié en avant, sa main étendue sur le sein opposé, de manière qu'elle avait à peu près la pose de la Vénus de Médicis.

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Rumphius souleva hors du cartonnage la momie ... ; il commença à la démailloter ... ; il défit d'abord l'enveloppe de toile cousue, imprégnée de vin de palmier, et les larges bandes qui ... cerclaient le corps; puis il atteignit l'extrémité d'une bandelette mince en roulant ses spirales infinies autour les membres de la jeune Egyptienne. ... Cette bandelette déroulée, une autre se présenta, plus étroite et destinée à serrer les formes de plus près. Elle était d'une toile si fine, d'une trame si égale, qu'elle eût pu soutenir la comparaison avec la batiste et la mousseline de nos jours. Elle suivait exactement les contours, emprisonnant les doigts des mains et des pieds, moulant comme un masque les traits de la figure. ... Le dernier obstacle enlevé, la jeune femme se dessina dans la chaste nudité de ses belles formes. ... Sa pose peu fréquente chez les momies, était celle de la Vénus de Médicis. ... L'une de ses mains voilait à demi sa gorge virginal, l'autre cachait des beautés mystérieuses ... [pp. 55-56].

It is easy to see why Gautier followed Feydeau's categoric comparison rather than Passalacqua's more cautious suggestions.

When the beauties of the now uncovered figure become visible, both Lord Evandale and his learned companion utter a cry of admiration (p. 57). Gautier dwells lovingly on each charming feature (pp. 57-60) and, as is to be expected, numerous elements of his description have a factual basis. I take only these into account.

Ordinairement, *les momies pénétrées de bitume et de natrum ressemblent à de noirs simulacres taillés dans de l'ébène ... ils se sont pétrifiés sous une forme hideuse qu'on ne saurait regarder sans dégoût*. ... Ici le corps, préparé soigneusement par des procédés plus sûrs, plus longs et plus couteux, avait conservé *l'élasticité de la chair, le grain de l'épiderme et presque la coloration naturelle*; la peau d'un brun clair, avait la nuance blonde d'un bronze florentin neuf; et ce ton *ambré* et chaud qu'on admire dans les peintures de Giorgione ou du Titien ... ne devait pas différer beaucoup du teint de la jeune Egyptienne en son vivant [p. 58].

When Passalacqua caught sight of the figure of the unusually beautiful mummy (p. 160) his feelings were much like those of Lord Evandale and of Rumphius:

A la vue d'une jeune femme de si belles proportions ... j'étais resté immobile devant elle, fixant avec un mélange de surprise et de tristesse ses belles formes et ses parures;<sup>1</sup>

and M. de Vernueil, upon examining the hand and arm of this mummy, which Passalacqua brought back to Europe, was equally amazed at the beauty of the skin:

On est frappé d'étonnement lorsqu'on arrive à cette pièce. Ce ne sont plus ces masses noires, cassantes, ridées et informes, que présentent la plupart des autres espèces, même dans leur meilleur état. Ici les formes ont toute leur intégrité; la peau, lisse et tendue, a presque sa couleur naturelle; seulement elle affecte une teinte safranée, et qui, comme je l'ai dit plus haut, peut dépendre du tanin dont elle est imprégnée [Passalacqua, p. 285].

Gautier continues to paint lovingly the beauty of the creature thus restored to the light, basing his account evidently on Passalacqua's story of the mummy referred to above.

<sup>1</sup> To be compared with the emotions of Lord Evandale and his companion in Passalacqua's account of his feelings upon finding an unopened tomb: "Dans le transport de la joie la plus pure dont j'étais saisi, j'allais m'emparer du premier objet que j'avais devant les yeux; mais à l'instant même un sentiment d'un respect religieux s'empara de moi et me retint. ... Comment décrire l'agitation douce ... que mon âme éprouva dans ce moment délicieux, où le flambeau dissipait devant moi une nuit dont la durée contenait les fastes et toutes les chutes qui enrichissent l'histoire depuis Busiris jusqu'à nos jours! [p. 117].

## GAUTIER

Autour du front uni et bas ... se massaient des cheveux d'un noir de jais, *divisés et nattés* en une multitude de fines cordelettes. ... *Vingt épingle d'or, piquées parmi ces tresses comme des fleurs dans une coiffure de bal*, étoilaient des points brillants dans cette épaisse et sombre chevelure. Deux grands boucles d'oreilles, arrondies en disque comme de petits boucliers, faisaient frissonner leur lumière jaune à côté de ses joues brunes. *Un collier magnifique, composé de trois rangs de divinités et d'amulettes en or et en pierres fines*, entouraient le col ... et plus bas ... descendaient deux autres colliers, dont les perles et les rosettes en or, lapis-lazuli et cornaline, formaient des alternances symétriques. ... *Une ceinture à peu près du même dessin enserrait sa taille svelte d'un cercle d'or et de pierres de couleur*. Un bracelet à double rang en perles d'or et de cornaline entourait son poignet gauche, et à l'index de la main du même côté, scintillait un tout petit scarabée en émaux cloisonnés d'or, et maintenu par un fil d'or précieusement natté [pp. 59-60].

## PASSALACQUA

Sa chevelure, la rotundité et la surprenante régularité de ses formes me prouverent qu'elle était une beauté de son temps. ... Ses cheveux étaient *soigneusement arrangés*. ... *Les vingt épingle 571 y étaient entremêlées, comme les fleurs le sont aujourd'hui dans les cheveux de nos beautés*. Le collier 594, peut-être le plus beau qu'on ait jamais découvert, ornait son col; mais comme si les trois rangs de petites divinités et amulettes en or qui le composent, ne suffisaient pas pour la beauté du sein, deux autres colliers, 587 et 589, l'accompagnaient, moins riches, mais dont les perles et les rosettes en or, lapis-lazuli et cornaline, se trouvent distribués avec beaucoup de goût et de symétrie. ... Les deux grandes boucles d'oreilles en or 601 pendaient à ses oreilles; et le très-petit scarabée, cerclé en or 257, fortifié avec un cordon gentiment natté, ornait, en forme de bague, l'index de sa main gauche. Une ceinture élégante, en or, lapis-lazuli et cornaline, et à peu près du même dessin que le collier 599, serrait le milieu de son corps, et un bracelet à double fil de petites perles en pierre fine et en or, comme le collier 595, ornait son poignet gauche; mais ces deux objets me furent volés à Thèbes même ... [p. 159].

Now the several articles that Passalacqua refers to specifically by number in this quoted passage are described by him as follows: 571, *Cuivre doré*.—*Vingt grandes épingle de tête*; 594, *Autre collier à trois rangs, dont les fils sont composés de petites perles en or, lapis, cornaline et ivoire; de divinités et d'animaux sacrés, tels que Typhon, crocodiles, hippopotames, et qui sont enrichis de figures, oies, scorpions, etc. en or, turquoises, lapis-lazuli, pierre arménienne et cornaline ...*; 587, *Autre collier à un rang, composé de*

rosaces alternées deux par deux, et qui sont formées en or, cornalines, ou en lapis-lazuli; 589, Autre collier à un rang, dont les perles taillées en olives, sont en cornaline et en or; 601, Une paire de très-grandes boucles d'oreilles en or, et dont la forme ressemble à celle de petits bracelets striés: ces bijoux ont six lignes de hauteur; 599, Un grand collier à deux rangs de perles alternées en or, en lapis et en cornaline ... ; 595, Autre collier, formé de petites perles alternées par douzaine, en or, lapis-lazuli, spath vert et cornaline. ...

Tahoser's earrings were unlike those of Passalacqua's beauty, but as he mentions (p. 35) two pairs with round pendants, it is impossible to conclude whether Gautier deliberately preferred one of these pairs for his queen, or whether—as seems likely—the Louvre collection provided a pattern. However this may be, Gautier's debt to Passalacqua is evident; even the terms used are often the same; but how admirably he composes the picture! What life, what poetry he gives to the Egyptologist's catalogue of facts! The sentence describing the earrings is eloquent of this magic: "Deux grandes boucles d'oreilles, arrondies en disque comme de petits boucliers, faisaient frissonner leur lumière jaune à côté de ses joues brunes."

An examination of Gautier's triumphal procession (pp. 104–18) leads to the belief that it is a composite of several sources, one of which is, almost certainly, Feydeau's attempt (pp. 150–54) to convey a picture of what a traveler in ancient Thebes would have seen in an excursion to the left bank of the Nile to visit the field of maneuvers, to see the arrival of a procession bearing the spoil of three nations, and to visit the Memnonia section, tenanted by the countless beings occupied with the service of the dead. Feydeau bases his account of the captives and the booty they bear on a reproduction by Hoskins, *Travels in Ethiopia* (London, 1835, pp. 327–35), of a procession copied from the tomb of Thothmes III, Thebes, and is, in several respects, more vivid and ornamental than accurate. In his wish to make the scene effectively picturesque Gautier went still farther: the captive women, some of them mere slaves, others who might aspire to win the heart of the conqueror; the masses of treasure; and the strange animals brought from afar to grace the triumph of Pharaoh. If Gautier had before him Hoskins' drawings, he made little use of them, and his text echoes in its phraseology that of Feydeau. In the original there are seven white women, four of

whom carry or lead children. They are clad in white dresses from neck to foot, plain except for a threefold skirt and colored girdles. There are no signs of earrings, of ivory armlets, nor of anklets, nor are their plain gowns embroidered at the throat. The suggestion that they are intended for the royal pleasure and are jealously guarded from the crowd is due to Feydeau. In the drawing they are preceded at some distance by two soldiers and followed by only one, and Hoskins speculates as to their fate no farther than to suggest that they are the wives of the male captives whom they follow. As the following quotations will show, the novelist seemed content to re-work Feydeau's text.

## GAUTIER

Tahoser leaves her palace to view the king's return from war:

*Enfin le char arriva au champ de manœuvre ... des terrassements qui avaient dû employer pendant des années les bras de trente nations ... formaient un cadre en relief au gigantesque parallélogramme; des murs de briques crues formant talus revêtaient ces terrassements [p. 101]. Sur le côté du champs de manœuvre, le revêtement s'interrompit et laissait déboucher dans la place une route se prolongeant vers l'Ethiopie supérieure. ... A l'angle opposé, le talus coupé permettait au chemin de se continuer jusqu'au palais de Rhamsès-Méiamoun en passant à travers les épaisse murailles de briques [p. 102].*

Then the procession passes:

*Des femmes basanées ..., portant leurs enfants dans un lambeau d'étoffe noué à leur front, venaient derrière, honteuses, courbées, laissant voir leur nudité grêle et difforme, vil troupeau dévoué aux usages les plus infimes. D'autres jeunes et belles,*

## FEYDEAU

*En avant, plus au sud, ... s'ouvre une spacieuse arène, entourée de remparts de briques, coupée de nombreuses portes dont la principale débouche sur le fleuve; une autre fait face au désert d'Ethiopie, une autre encore s'ouvre juste à l'angle du palais de Rhamsès. Dans cette arène ... nous apercevons au loin ... une populeuse caravane ... nous ne distinguons rien qu'une longue suite d'hommes portant des fardeaux ... les envoyés de trois nations vaincues apportant au roi ... le riche tribut qu'il a conquis. ... Tous conduisent des animaux ... deux d'entre eux tiennent en main un bout de corde qui va s'attacher aux pieds de devant ... d'une girafe à robe tachetée, quatre fois plus haut qu'un homme. ... D'autres animaux ... ici une autruche menée en bride ... des oncelots et des léopards ... dociles comme des chiens, marchant la tête basse, comme s'ils étaient honteux de se*

## GAUTIER

la peau d'une nuance moins foncée, les bras ornés de longs cercles d'ivoire, les oreilles allongées par de grands disques de métal, s'enveloppaient de longues tuniques à manches larges ... et tombant à plis fins et pressés jusqué sur leurs chevilles, où bruissaient des anneaux; pauvres filles arrachées à leur patrie, à leurs parents, à leurs amours peut-être, elles souriaient cependant à travers leurs larmes, car le pouvoir de la beauté est sans bornes ... et peut-être la faveur royale attendait-elle une de ces captives barbares. ... Des soldats les accompagnaient et les préservaient du contact de la foule [pp. 107-8]. Un héraut disait le montant du butin, les mesures de poudre d'or, les dents d'éléphant, les plumes d'autruche, les masses de gomme odorante, les girafes, les lions, les panthères et autres animaux rares ... [p. 109]. Des esclaves portaient le butin annoncé par le héraut ... et des belluaires traînaient en laisse des panthères, des guépards s'écrasant contre terre comme pour se cacher, des autruches battant des ailes, des girafes dépassant la foule de toute la longueur de leur col, et jusqu'à des ours bruns pris, disait-on, dans les montagnes de la Lune [pp. 117-18].

## FEYDEAU

sentir domptés. ... Voici ... un groupe de nègres ... qui portent ... des dents d'éléphants ... des bouquets de plumes d'autruche. ... D'autres nègres ... portant ... des sacs de poudre d'or ... et tribut qui dépasse tous ceux que nous avons énumérés, ils viennent offrir au roi ... les plus monstrueuses bêtes du monde: l'ours féroce et l'énorme, l'intelligent éléphant ... Sept Egyptiens armés ... précèdent des filles esclaves, le buste découvert ... ; quelques-unes, rebut des gynécées, vouées aux travaux les plus vils, toutes nues, sans attrait et sans grâce, ... conduisent leurs enfants par la main, ou les portent derrière l'épaule dans un sac rattaché au front par une lanière. Ce sont les servantes, annonçant ... des femmes ... plus belles ... ces Asiatiques, au teint clair, les cheveux saupoudrés de poudre bleue, sont couvertes de longues robes blanches. ... Derrière elles s'avancent enfin ... les quatre captives destinées sans doute au gynécée du Pharaon. Leurs robes blanches, à manches. ... Trois autres femmes les suivent; derrière elles sont encore alignés des hommes armés [pp. 150-53, *passim.*].

Feydeau's text contains many more curious details taken from the drawings of which Gautier makes no use, such as the antics of monkeys, one of which is perched on the long neck of the giraffe, while another seems to beg his negro neighbor for a lift. It is worthy of remark that he seems to have been content to use Feydeau as his point of departure instead of referring directly to the elaborate drawings found in Hoskins.

In his description of the crowd through which the chariot of Tahoser makes its way, Gautier relies on Feydeau again as will be evident from a comparison of the text of the two passages quoted below.

## GAUTIER

La variété la plus étrange bario-lait cette multitude; les *Egyptiens* formaient la masse et se reconnaissaient à leur profil pur, à leur taille svelte, à leur robe de fin lin, ou à leur *calasiris* soigneusement plissé. ... Sur ce fond indigène tranchaient des échantillons divers de races exotiques: les *nègres du haut Nil*, noirs comme des dieux de basalte, les bras cerclés de larges anneaux d'ivoire et faisant balancer à leurs oreilles de sauvages ornements; les *Ethiopiens* bronzés, à la mine farouche ... ; les *Asiatiques au teint clair jaune, aux yeux d'azur*, à la barbe frisée en spirales. ... A travers cette foule s'avanciaient gravement des prêtres à la tête rasée, une peau de panthère tournée autour du corps ... des souliers de byblos aux pieds, à la main une haute canne d'acacia, gravée de caractères hiéroglyphiques; des soldats, leur poignard à clous d'argent au côté, leur bouclier sur le dos, leur hache de bronze au poing; des personnages recommandables ... que saluaient très-bas les esclaves. ... Parmi les piétons filaient les litières portées par des Ethiopiens ... ; des chars légers attelés de chevaux fringants aux têtes empanachées, des chariots à bœufs d'une allure pesante et contenant une famille [pp. 88-89].

## FEYDEAU

Dans la foule bariolée ... on distingue aisément les *Egyptiens au profil pur*, aux cheveux tressés ... vêtus de blanches robes de fin lin ou de la *calasiris plissée* ... , des *Ethiopiens à l'air dur, à peau de bronze*, aux fortes lèvres, des *Asiatiques aux yeux bleus, et au teint clair, et des nègres du Haut-Nil*, aux cheveux crépus, les bras cerclés de bracelets d'ivoire, les oreilles chargées de larges anneaux, ... le soldat ... le bouclier à l'épaule, le poignard à clous d'argent dans la ceinture, tenant d'une main son arc triangulaire, de l'autre sa hache courte. ... Ici le maître dans un palanquin à dossier, porté sur les épaules de quatre esclaves ... là encore, debout sur un léger char à deux roues qu'entraînent au galop deux chevaux rapides caparaconnés d'étoffes brillantes et la tête empanachée de longues plumes rouges. ... D'autres chars ... plus lents et plus lourds ... sur un autre à roues massives ... charrié par des bœufs, est entassée une nombreuse famille de paysans. On reconnaît encore ça et là, ... les prêtres à leur peau de panthère qui flotte sur leur épaule, à leurs souliers de byblos, à leur tête rasée; ils parcourent la ville en s'appuyant sur de longues cannes d'acacia ornées d'hiéroglyphes ... [pp. 139-40, *passim*.].

The foundation of Gautier's description is plainly in Feydeau's text. He departed from it now and then, adding, as usual, lively epithets or striking details, for many of which he could find authority

in the illustrations of Feydeau's work, but the only element of the scene for which Feydeau offered no suggestion is the characterization of the Pelasgians and their costumes (p. 88), as the introduction of the haughty beauties (p. 89) is due to an inevitable antithesis.

Lunn's article referred to above traces to their sources two interesting passages of Gautier's story: the pastoral scenes described on pages 146, 150, 181-85, and the characterization of the different races of men sculptured on the walls of Pharaoh's palace (p. 252). For the former, the source is largely the cuts in Wilkinson (*Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, 1854); for the second, Champollion's Letters (p. 248). As Feydeau's references to these two writers are numerous, here too Gautier may be said to have profited by his friend's guidance, especially in the first case, for Feydeau (p. 193) similarly reconstructs farming scenes in Egypt on the basis of Wilkinson's cuts, mentioning even the monkeys trained to gather figs (*Roman de la momie*, p. 150), but some of the details noted by Gautier prove that he too had the pictures before him.

Gautier found in his sources the material for a number of small realistic reproductions of costume, of toilet articles, of furniture, and the like. The general details of dress could have been drawn from almost any of the illustrated works to which he had access, but in one or two cases a definite source may be pointed out. Tahoser's head-dress is thus described (p. 74):

Cette belle fille avait pour coiffure une sorte de *casque formé par une pintade* dont les ailes à demi déployées s'abattaient sur ses tempes, et dont la jolie tête effilée s'avancait jusqu'au milieu de son front, tandis que la queue, constellée de points blancs, se déployaient sur sa nuque. Une habile combinaison d'émail imitait à s'y tromper le plumage ocellé de l'oiseau; *des pennes d'autruche, implantées dans le casque comme une aigrette*, complétait cette coiffure réservée aux jeunes vierges, de même que le *vautour*, *symbole de la maternité*, n'appartient qu'aux femmes.

This was suggested, in part at least, by a passage from Champollion (*Lettres sur le musée égyptien de Turin* [1824], p. 21):

... une image de Mui-Cetari, debout coiffée d'un vautour dont le col et la tête se dressent sur son front. ... Les ailes de l'oiseau, peintes en vert et en jaune, retombent à côté des oreilles de la reine, et la queue étalée couvre la nuque de la statue. Ce *vautour* que l'on a pris souvent, et à tort, pour une *pintade* ... était chez les Egyptiens, *le symbole de la maternité* et ils le placèrent sur la tête des reines.

I have not found an explicit statement as to the headdress of virgins, but from Feydeau (p. 145) he could have got the ostrich plumes: ... de jeunes femmes ... coiffées de casques légers en forme de pintade élégamment couronnés de plumes d'autruche. ...

The musicians with their instruments, and the dancers who tried to dispel by their art Pharaoh's melancholy (pp. 135-36) are reproduced faithfully from a cut in Feydeau, even to the "petite fille de sept ou huit ans" (facing p. 142). Wilkinson (*Ancient Egyptians*, I, 60, Fig. 65) reproduces a chair corresponding in every detail to the royal throne described by Gautier (p. 127)—captives, ornamented cushions, chimera heads, and all,<sup>1</sup> and the same work (p. 69, Fig. 79) pictures a table like those found in the royal palace, the top supported by figures representing bound and suffering prisoners (pp. 253, 257). Feydeau (p. 213) calls to Gautier's attention a spatula described as follows in the novel:

... Une spatule à parfums en bois de sycomore, formée par une jeune fille nue jusqu'aux reins, allongée dans une position de nage et semblant vouloir soutenir sa cassolette au-dessus l'eau [p. 72];

which appears thus in Feydeau:

L'une de ces cuillères sculptées, déposée au Louvre, représente une jeune fille nue, étendue, la tête relevée, les bras en avant soutenant une auge entre ses mains: ... rien de plus gracieux que ces jeunes filles ... les pieds réunis dans l'attitude d'une personne qui nage.

The original of Tahoser's spatula may have been in the Louvre too, but it is likely that Feydeau's text helped suggest Gautier's simile.

When Tahoser crossed the Nile in her bark (pp. 91-92), the scene of confusion and animation on the river finds a counterpart in Feydeau (p. 145), and though the details are not enough alike to justify a formal comparison, there is surely a connection between the two passages. Tahoser is represented as the daughter of the high priest Pétamounoph. There are numerous references in Feydeau as well as in other authorities to the splendid tomb of this dignitary, of which Feydeau gives a drawing. One would expect Gautier's sketch of the palaces of Thebes to follow Feydeau's outline, but,

<sup>1</sup> See also Champollion, *Egypte ancienne*, Fig. 23. In the same volume are cuts from which Gautier could have got the two vases described on p. 267 (cf. Wilkinson, *op. cit.*, ed. of 1853, I, 150, 151, 152), as also the stool formed "de cols de cygnes enlacés" (p. 267).

oddly enough, there are no striking similarities between the two, though, naturally, the same more striking features of the architecture are indicated by both: such as the alley of two thousand sphinxes that connects the palaces of Aménoph and of Karnak (Feydeau, p. 144; *Roman de la momie*, p. 99).

It would not be difficult to make other equally evident comparisons of detail between passages from the *Roman de la momie* and obvious sources. Such, for example, would be the headdress and costume of Pharaoh (pp. 111-12) reproduced apparently from the cut in Champollion, *Monuments de l'Egypte ancienne*, I (Paris, 1835, Pl. III); the banners (p. 108), which he might have got from Wilkinson (ed. of 1853, p. 343); the description of the triumphal cortege (p. 106, *et seq.*), of which many details are to be traced to Champollion's Letters (pp. 261, 268, 334, 335, 336, *passim*); the mention of the roll of papyrus containing the "rituel funéraire" (p. 62), for which Gautier drew on Feydeau<sup>1</sup> (p. 125)—as is evident from the phrase, "la litanie des cent noms d'Osiris"—and from Passalacqua (p. 170), who notes that these documents are sometimes found placed between the mummy's arm and side; and numerous items of costume, of food (cf. p. 133), of ceremony, and the like. A complete record of these, however, would be merely adding in kind, for the passages examined are typical and sufficiently varied.

The materials used by Gautier were such as appeal to the senses, above all to the eye. He makes his descriptions as precise as possible. An object is presented with the details of form, of color, that distinguish it from all others. He departs most from Feydeau's text when Feydeau is less precise, less concrete than some other authority. He utilizes Passalacqua's text for the ornaments and toilet articles found with the mummy because Passalacqua recounts a particular incident in all its detail, whereas Feydeau, using almost the same material, treats the matter in more general terms. It is characteristic, too, that Gautier often bases his descriptions on cuts or on objects. Hence, with the aid of Feydeau's cuts of the tomb visited by Belzoni, he reconstructs most dramatically and in great detail a similar adventure. Furthermore, he chooses the unusual, as in the case of

<sup>1</sup> Feydeau's passage is based on Champollion: *Notice sur le papyrus hiératique ... du cercueil de Pétaménoph*—that is from the tomb of Tahoser's father!

Passalacqua's record of the remarkably well-preserved and beautiful mummy. To this account he is indebted for the appearance of the skin of Tahoser, for her beauty of form, for the richness of her ornaments, though he places his beauty in a splendid royal tomb, surrounded by all the pomp of Egypt's ceremonial, whereas Passalacqua had found his beautiful lady in a public sepulcher, inclosed in a simple coffin. Thus it is evident that Gautier combined and modified his material freely, always with the aim of producing a more telling and more suggestive visual effect. On the other hand, the extent of his indebtedness to Feydeau's text, even in some cases where he might have chosen a more concrete source, is worthy of remark. The skill with which he transmutes the pretentious style of his friend into his own rich prose is, of course, his artistic secret.

The more abstract matters—Egyptian religion, laws, government, commerce—he quite ignores or barely touches. He is interested in the past of Egypt only in so far as it will yield him material for strange and vivid pictures. He displays none of the historical sense manifested by his disciple Flaubert in *Salammb&eth;*. Our interest is aroused, however, not so much by what he did not do—for even if we do not accept wholly M. L. Lanson's phrase, "le néant intellectuel de Gautier," we surely do not expect him to be concerned with ideas as much as with things—but by observing with what skill, with what artistic sureness, he selects and combines from a bewildering abundance of material, and what a striking series of pictures of certain of the more Romantic aspects of life in ancient Egypt he presents to our eyes. His figures of speech, his choice of epithets, the movement of his phrases—all contribute to the same end, are all representative of his peculiar type of imagination. Whatever may be the lack of Gautier as a creative artist, there can be no doubt of his power to convey sensuous impressions—of color, form, sound—and in the *Roman de la momie* he uses his gifts on a large scale with consummate skill.

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## THE FUNDAMENTAL IDEAS IN HERDER'S THOUGHT. IV

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### Chap. II

#### EXTENSION OF THE PRINCIPLE OF PERSONALITY—*Concluded*

#### RELATION OF THE THEORY OF ENVIRONMENT TO "VOLKSLITERATUR" AND THE CONCEPTION OF "VOLK"

We have seen that Herder displaced the traditional conception of an absolute, universal reason by that of individual spontaneity, as the primary factor of reality, as the source and standard of all experience, including the activities of reason. Reason is according to Herder derivative, a function of personality, and has to find its conclusive definition and criteria not in its own logic considered as absolute or "transcendental," but in the specific characters of spontaneous individuality.

Herder did not commit the mistake, which was very tempting, of transferring absoluteness from reason to individuality. He saw that individuality was in turn conditioned by relations which were subject to empirical demonstration and control. The sum of these relations is expressed by the term environment.

The theory of environment as a hypothesis of the general conditions of life was not new in the eighteenth century. It dates back to ancient history, where it coincides with the beginnings of exact natural science.<sup>1</sup> Hippocrates made it the subject of a treatise

<sup>1</sup> See the exhaustive and well-written dissertation of Eugénie Dutoit: *Die Theorie des Milieu*. Bern, 1899. After a thorough analysis of Taine's theory of the "faculté maîtresse" in its bearing on the theory of environment, Miss Dutoit outlines skilfully and comprehensively the theories of Hippocrates, Aristotle, Bodin, Montesquieu, Augustine, Vico, Buckle, Herder, and others. (See for Herder, pp. 86–87.)

Miss Dutoit's reference to Herder, determined as it was by the focus of her particular inquiry, namely Taine's theory, had to be brief. A special investigation of Herder's theory of environment had long seemed to me desirable. The specific determination of this problem depended, however, on the discovery of the crux of the essential relations between the multitudinous facts of environment considered by Herder, and his fundamental ideas.

My theory of the principle of individuality in Herder's philosophy, which began to take shape about 1904, furnished this crux. In 1907, while conducting a graduate course on Herder, I suggested the subject to Mr. A. H. Koller, one of my students, as a

entitled: *Of Winds, Waters, and Places*. Aristotle was the first to give it a place in his politico-historical theories as a fundamental determinant of political institutions. Bodin, in his *République*, published in 1576, followed Aristotle's teaching, after a long interval of time. This politico-historical conception of environment was further developed by Montesquieu, nearly two centuries later.

In the latter part of the eighteenth century the theory of environment entered upon a new phase. The direction which it took, the definitions of its problems and critical methods which it developed, have continued to the present day with constant acceleration, increase of evidence, and progress of precision in classification and induction. It kept pace with the advance of modern science. Discoveries in physics, chemistry, anatomy, physiology, supplied constantly more specific substance for the emerging hypothesis of the organic unity of all existence.

Zoölogy gradually arranged all the forms of life in an unbroken ascending series. Only before man, the highest form, it assumed an absolute gap. Man was still assumed as a separate creation, the agent of absolute, universal reason, subject to no primary organic or material causation, endowed with his own a priori standards and responsibility and his own transcendental spontaneity and freedom.

This view, which was the logical expression of the rationalistic dualism of Reason and Matter, yielded slowly and reluctantly before the extension of knowledge. Its last empirical support, to which it clung tenaciously, was the supposed absence of the intermaxillary bone in man alone among the higher vertebrates. It was Goethe who in 1783, the year of the completion of the first part of Herder's *Ideen*, demonstrated this final anatomic link between man and the

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theme for a course-paper, and subsequently, as a Doctor's thesis. I unfolded my theory of personality and its bearings on Herder's views on environment to my students. I put Miss Dutoit's dissertation into Mr. Koller's hands, thus giving him the orientation and tools required for the proper beginning of his investigation. The first part of this dissertation has recently appeared under the title: A. H. Koller, *The Theory of Environment*, Part I (University of Chicago Dissertation. Menasha, Wis.: George Banta Publishing Co., 1918). In the Preface, in which he gives an account of the development of his study, Mr. Koller fails to mention Miss Dutoit's work, and gives a misleading description of the state of the problem confronting him. The subject, at the time that Mr. Koller was introduced to it, was not, as appears from his description, a primeval wilderness without paths and "guide posts," but an inviting district with its main lines of topography clearly traced and with the points of the compass plainly indicated. Nor was he thrust forth, naked, as it were, but led forward, well equipped and cheered with every proper encouragement and direction.

lower animals. With that discovery, biology, the science of the organic development of life, was born. More than two generations passed, however, before its proper principles of method and technique were established by Darwin.

Goethe's scientific contemporaries, actuated partly by guild pride and prejudice against the non-professional interloper, and dominated by the rationalistic philosophy, refused for many years even to examine Goethe's account of his discovery.

Herder was familiar with the principles and results of the physical sciences of his day as early as 1770, the year of the preparation of his prize essay, "Über den Ursprung der Sprache." He made the biological unity of man with the animals the express basis of his argument.<sup>1</sup> Goethe, in *Dichtung und Wahrheit*,<sup>2</sup> relates that in the winter of 1770-71 Herder gave him the manuscript of the essay, which was nearly completed, to read, and freely communicated his ideas to him.

Herder's particular contribution to the theory of environment was not any discovery of new physiological facts, but the projection of a new focus, as epoch-making as the hypothesis of biology. By relating the demonstrable facts of physical environment organically to the specific functions of individual spontaneity and so disposing of the current mythologies of static, primary "powers" or "faculties" of the soul, i.e., by joining personality with the physical foundations of life, he took the ground from rationalism and created the modern view of humanism as the fruit of a natural development of personality, whose record is *Geistesgeschichte*, or *Kulturgeschichte*.

The theme of modern humanism is the development of collective forms of human individuality in organic relations to their environment. It is no longer an account of abstract ideas or of detached individuals, but of ethnic groups, of nations, considered as historical, genetic individualities. Herder not only gave the decisive impulse to this advance, but established its principal categories in literature, art, general aesthetics, general history, theology, philology, philosophy, psychology, and political science.

In his interpretation of folk literature, he ignored the specifically physiological bearings of environment, partly because he had already

<sup>1</sup> The essay will be discussed in the next chapter.

<sup>2</sup> Book 10.

set them forth in his prize essay, partly, no doubt, because it was necessary, in the interest of concentration, to defer comprehensive accounts of their further relations, to separate works, as *Ursachen des gesunkenen Geschmacks*, 1773; *Auch eine Philosophie der Geschichte zur Bildung der Menschheit*, 1774; *Vom Erkennen und Empfinden der menschlichen Seele*, 1774; *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*, 1784-91; and others.<sup>1</sup>

The particular aim of his studies in folk literature was not a historical account of the actual details of the development, but an inductive analysis of the essential qualities of folk literature as it was. For this purpose, environment took the function not so much of specific organic cause, but rather of formal index of individualization. It was sufficient to relate the various elements of folk individuality to the corresponding main classes of environment.

Herder had formulated some classes of environment in *Fragmente über die neuere deutsche Litteratur*, his first essays of note, published 1767, under the following heads:<sup>2</sup> external nature; national history; national spirit, prejudices, taste; religion; social and political conditions of life; character of language, particularly its characteristic idioms, which he calls *Idiotismen*, including local speech or dialect.

These classes recur, substantially unchanged, as the chief focuses of individualization, in his essays on folk literature, including drama and narrative forms as well as lyrical poetry. The progress of these later essays lies in the greater accuracy of illustration, finer discrimination of particulars and deeper comprehension of essentials, and especially in evidence of his gradual escape from remnants of Rousseau's and Hamann's mystical doctrine of the primitive perfection of man, which, if interpreted literally,<sup>3</sup> is incompatible with a historical view of development based upon the theory of environment.

In *Shakespeare*, Herder again sums up the chief classes of creative environment: "History, *Zeitgeist*, manners, opinions, language,

<sup>1</sup> These will be discussed in the next chapter.

<sup>2</sup> *Fragmente*, Zweite Sammlung, chaps. i-vii. These early essays reveal the influence of Montesquieu and Rousseau in a paradoxical combination. See the last section of this chapter.

<sup>3</sup> As it was not really interpreted by Rousseau, notwithstanding the apparently universal critical opinion concerning the latter's teaching. See my forthcoming paper on "The Problem of Romanticism" and the last section of this chapter.

national prejudices, traditions, and fads furnish the proper material for a living drama. The form is of secondary importance."

And again, in the same essay: "History, tradition, manners, religion, spirit of the era, of the people, of its emotions, of its language. . . ." Farther on he adds "spirit of particular locality" (*Lokalgeist*).

He says in *Ossian*:

You laugh at my enthusiasm for the savages almost as Voltaire did at Rousseau, who, he said, liked so much to walk on all fours. But do not think that I therefore scorn our virtues of manners and morals. The human race is destined for a progress of scenes, of education, of manners. Woe! to the man who is displeased with the scene in which he is to appear, act, and live. But woe! also to the philosopher who, in making theories on mankind and manners and morals, knows only his scene and judges the first scene always as the worst. If all belong to the whole of the progressive drama, each must display a new and notable side of mankind. Take care, lest I visit on you presently a psychology drawn from Ossian's poems.

And in another passage: The modern man can gain nothing by trying to imitate the native simplicity of the ancients. By the laws of individuality and spontaneity he also must be true to himself as the savages were true to themselves.

If a modern young poet finds that his dominant powers are intellectual, and that such are required by his subject and type of poetry, he will have to consider the subject and content of his poem so fully and clearly and order it so plainly, that the words are, as it were, sculptured upon his soul. But if his poem calls for a rushing forth of passion and emotion, or if this type of powers is the readiest and most potent impulse in his soul, he should yield to the fire of the auspicious hour and speak and bewitch.

It is important to note that Herder makes no essential distinction between ancient folk poetry and purely intellectual poetry, provided they have the characters of spontaneity and individuality in common. The latter are his principal criteria.

Particular stress should fall on the view, expressed in the passage just quoted, that spontaneity is not repugnant to critical self-consciousness,<sup>1</sup> provided that the latter serve the purposes of spontaneous individuality. Only those forms of critical self-examination

<sup>1</sup> This problem of spontaneity as naïveté is one of the principal factors in the conflict between the myth of the Golden Age and the theory of organic development. See last section of this chapter.

which thwart and pervert spontaneity and folk individuality are rejected by him.

He asserts in another passage in *Ossian*:

All "unpoliced" [i.e., spontaneous] peoples sing and act. They sing what they act. Its songs are the archives of a people, the treasury of its science and religion, of its theogony and cosmogony, of the deeds of its fathers and events of its history, the impress of its heart, the pictures of its domestic life, in joy and sorrow, at the marriage bed and at the grave. . . . There they all paint, they all reveal themselves as they are. The warlike nation sings deeds, the tender, love. The intellectually keen peoples compose riddles, the imaginative folk allegories, similes, living pictures. A warmly passionate people can sing only of passion, as a people placed in terrible circumstances can create only terrible gods. A little collection of such songs out of the mouth of each people, dealing with the principal objects and actions of its life, in its own speech, properly interpreted and accompanied with its tune—how much life would it give to all those particulars for which the readers of travelers' accounts are most eager, namely the mental characteristics and the manners of a nation. Of its science and language! Of play and dance, music and teachings concerning its gods! Of all these we should win, from such a collection or from a lord's prayer cast in such speech, a much better conception than from the babble of a traveler. As natural history describes plants and animals, so in their songs peoples describe themselves.

From the spontaneous songs of a folk we

gain above all concrete conceptions, and by comparing these songs as to language, contents, sounds, and, particularly, as to their cosmogonies and histories of the fathers, we could form many and reliable conclusions as to their origins, propagation, and intermingling.

Even in Europe, which is very densely populated, there are a number of nations whose literary sources are entirely neglected. Estonians and Letts, Wends and Slavs, Poles and Russians, Frisians and Prussians, have many songs which have not been collected as have been those of the Icelanders, the Danes, the Swedes, not to speak of the English, the Scots and Britons, and the southern peoples. And yet there are among the former so many persons whose office and task it is to study the language, manner, mental character, old prejudices, and customs of each nation! By doing it properly they would give to other nations the most living grammar, the best dictionary and natural history of their peoples. Only they must give it as it is, in the original language and with sufficient interpretation, not spoiled and debased, nor beautified and refined; if possible, with the original tunes and all the accompaniments pertaining to the life of the people.

In *Shakespeare*, after characterizing the classical Greek drama he concludes: The classical French dramatists tried to imitate the classical Greek drama in a changed world. They tried to graft Greek native simplicity on modern complexity and sophistication, with the result that the product was neither modern nor classical art but a pretense and perversion. French "classicism" was pseudo-classicism, because it did not rise from the conditions of national life and character.

The truly classic dramatist coming next after the Greeks is *Shakespeare*, because his drama is really indigenous. "Shakespeare found about him nothing less than simplicity of native manners, deeds, impulses, and historical traditions." He did not try, as the French classical drama did, merely to introduce some variations into the traditional art. "He found no simple character of people and nation but a multiplicity of classes, conditions of life, states of mind, peoples, and languages." "He took history as he found it and through his creative pains combined the most variegated material into a miraculous unity." "It is particularly the new, the first, the fundamentally different things, which reveal the original power of [the dramatist's] vocation."

In the drama, as in lyrical poetry, Herder advises his German contemporaries, if they wish to learn by examples, to turn to *Shakespeare* rather than to the Greeks, because the world and character of *Shakespeare's* plays are much more akin to them than those of the Greeks. "Shakespeare teaches, moves and informs northern man." "Stand before his scene as you stand before a sea of events, where rolls roaring wave upon wave." "His plays have living individuality and local character [*Lokalgeist*] from beginning to end."

England, he continues, accomplished its political unity long before his own age at a time when Germany was still far from a common national consciousness; and so the former produced a national literature. All the ancient wealth of the English tongue, he declares, is being recovered. In Germany, on the other hand, little is done for folk song and no more for the old knightly poetry. Only the Manesse manuscript has been used in Bodmer's edition of *Songs by One Hundred and Forty Minnesingers of the Swabian School*, published in Zürich, 1758-59. But that example has led to no tradition

of collecting folk songs such as exists in England. Most of the works of that age which have been collected reflect Romanic influences. But even in them the German elements have not been studied.

He recommends Percy's *Reliques* as the best model for a collection of national folk songs. He praises Bürger, whose *Lenore*, inspired by the *Reliques*, had caused a literary sensation, as one who has profited by the example of Scotch folk song. But he scorns the "bardic squall" (*Bardenwindsbraut*) of the inferior imitators of Klopstock, men like Kretschmann, who wrote under the name of Ringulph, because they mistook a narrow and false, egotistic-nationalistic caricature for the true folk character.<sup>1</sup>

Klopstock he regards as a true, if minor folk singer, in an interesting passage of literary criticism. He says that Klopstock "rarely [treats] complete subjects," but rather "small traits taken from these subjects, rarely complete duties, actions, and images, figures [*Gestalten*] of the heart, but rather fine shades, often mere 'intermediate shades,' of emotions." His songs are therefore "not always *songs of the people*." Yet they embody many important qualities of folk poetry; "and the boldest song by Klopstock, full of abrupt transitions and inversions, taught to a child and properly sung by it a few times, is certain to mean more to it and to remain more deeply and permanently implanted in its mind, than the most dramatic commonplace about love, in which no connective or conjunction and no intermediate idea is omitted."

Since Herder's method of characterizing folk poetry in terms of environment depended for correctness of results on the authenticity of his sources, it sometimes happened that conclusions in themselves correct and instructive were yet contrary to fact. He, like his contemporaries, was misled into the assumption that MacPherson's poems, collected under the title *Ossian*, which were inspired by ancient Celtic legends, were, as MacPherson pretended to a too literal public—and himself undoubtedly believed, possessed as he must have been by the vision of inner identities characteristic of the symbolistic type of mind revealed in his poems—literally a collection of old folk songs, like Percy's *Reliques*; and so based on them

<sup>1</sup> See his review, published 1772; Suphan's edition of his *Sämmliche Werke* (SSW.), V, 334 ff.; also pp. 330-34.

his analysis of the folk character of the ancient Celts, particularly the Scots. He contrasts *Ossian* with some old Scandinavian songs, and concludes that the Scandinavians were "no doubt a wilder, more rugged people than the gentle, idealized Scots" [!] "I know," he continues, "no song of the former peoples in which flow gentle emotions; their course passes over rocks and ice and frozen earth."

He, in common with his contemporaries, was also unaware that much of the Scaldic poetry, representing as it does a late, oversophisticated, and degenerate type of Norse poetry, could no more satisfy his tests of *Volksmässigkeit* than that part of contemporary poetry which he condemned. His conclusion as to the actual folk character of the ancient Scandinavians is therefore also subject to modification.

But such errors, since they do not arise from his method of analysis but from an accidental flaw in the authenticity of his material, do not vitiate the former.

#### ENVIRONMENT AND LITERARY FORM

Herder's view involved, as we have seen, the conviction that form is a specific and organic part of individuality, and therefore subject to no independent rules, but to the criteria of individual or "characteristic" consistency. This conclusion was misunderstood by a long succession of theoretic critics of Herder, as an assertion of the *exclusive* validity of the criteria of characteristic expressiveness, involving the rejection of the requirement of formal beauty.

Friedrich Schlegel seems to have been the first to give currency to this judgment. In 1796, he published a review<sup>1</sup> of the seventh and eighth collections of Herder's *Humanitätsbriefe*, which had appeared in the same year, and in which were summed up Herder's conclusions regarding the "spirit and value of modern poetry." The gist of Friedrich Schlegel's criticism is contained in the last passages of his review:

The *result* is the denial that the poetries of different times and peoples can be compared; and even that there is a *universal standard* of values. But has this been proved?—Even if there exists no faultless attempt to

<sup>1</sup> In Reichardt's *Deutschland*, Vol. III, Berlin, 1796, ninth number. Reprinted in J. Minor's edition (*Friedrich Schlegel, 1794–1802. Seine prosaischen Jugendschriften*, Hrg. v. J. Minor, Wien, 1882), II, 41–48.

classify poetry, is such a classification altogether [*überhaupt*] impossible?—The *method* of considering every flower of art only according to space, time, and species, *without regard to values*, would in the end lead to no other result except that everything had to be what it was and is.<sup>1</sup>

This criticism lays the charge of aesthetic naturalism against both Herder's method of individualization and principle of form.

Naturalism in art and literature is the doctrine that both substance and form must be an immediate and literal, or at least the most immediate and literal possible, expression of actuality, and particularly of the creative and formal elements of the environment.

The Storm-and-Stress movement, proclaiming the exclusive principles of "characteristic" art and "local color," lay open to Friedrich Schlegel's criticism. His shallow identification of a one-sided and immature doctrine with Herder's great conception has exerted an undeserved influence on literary criticism to the present day.

Schlegel's criticism had its motives in his idolization of Goethe, which was just entering upon its most extravagant and characteristically subjective stage, and in the conflicts involved in the rupture between Herder and Goethe, which had just been consummated. Herder, who was out of patience with Goethe's reversion to the Schiller-Kantian form of pseudo-classicism, had said in the *Humanitätsbriefe* reviewed by Schlegel, that "Goethe had approached the form of the ancients through an 'indifferent' [teilnahmlose], exact description of visual reality and an active representation of his characters." It was the reproach contained in the attribute "indifferent," which, as is indicated by a parenthetical note in the review, stung Schlegel's partisan devotion into resentment. It is not impossible that Goethe, who stood in need of justification of his breach with Herder, which involved a breach with his own creative motive that had been dominant since his Strassburg days in 1770, was not unwilling to accept the championship of Schlegel, and did not scrutinize very closely the latter's argument.

Goethe and Schiller, however, joined with the charge of naturalism another one incompatible with the former and equally unjust, namely that of an odious ethical dogmatism. This contradiction strengthens the suspicion that the main motives of the estrange-

<sup>1</sup> Minor, *op. cit.*, p. 48. The italics are Schlegel's.

ment lay in regions more profound than those of theoretic discourse. Is it unlikely that Goethe felt a vague unwilling discomfort, akin to artistic remorse, rising from his repudiation of the deepest impulses of his poetical nature?

Herder's principle of organic individualization was the opposite of Schiller's Kantian doctrine of the *reine Formen*. Agreement was impossible, and affections took sides with views. It is the tragic folly of men, great as well as small, that they complicate antagonisms which are beyond control, with pride and resentment, to the grievous hurt of all.

Occasionally, but chiefly in passages of rhetorical generalities, Herder seems guilty of the naturalistic fault of interpreting environment as the immediate agent in producing particular literary forms. At one time he says of the classical Greek drama:<sup>1</sup> "The artfulness of its rules was not art [i.e., deliberate contrivance] but nature; simplicity of the fable<sup>2</sup> was unity of the action which passed in review before the Greeks, and which under the prevailing conditions of time, fatherland, religion, and manners could not be different." But in the main, and particularly in his specific conclusions, he confined himself consistently to the mediate relationship between the organic conditions and the formal expressions of personality. The formal functions of environment became thus the indirect yet specific factors of individualization.

As everything in the world changes, so changed also the particular nature which created the Greek drama. The constitution of the world, manners, conditions of the republics, traditions of the heroic age, religious faith, even music, expression, standards of illusion changed, and with them, as a matter of course, also material for dramatic plots, occasions for composition, and purposes.<sup>3</sup>

He selected German translations of foreign works of literature, which were a large and important part of the literary output of the time, as particularly fitted for tests of his formal conclusions. A comparison of different methods of form with various types of environment were likely to lead to definite results. A large number of his ideas on this subject are scattered through his *Fragmente*,

<sup>1</sup> *Shakespeare*.

<sup>2</sup> The term is used in the dramaturgic sense.

<sup>3</sup> *Shakespeare*.

especially the first two collections. They reappear in a more coherent form in his *Briefwechsel über Ossian und die Lieder alter Völker*, which was occasioned by Denis' translation of MacPherson's *Ossian* into German hexameters. Starting with the observation that the "original utterance of a wild mountain people" is out of harmony with the form of the translation, he develops many interesting and important conclusions regarding the specific relations between environment and literary forms. The temptation is great to collect and classify all these details. But since the subject of the present essays is the exposition of Herder's fundamental ideas and not his aesthetic theories in detail, the latter will have to wait their turn.

It will suffice to quote the passage in which he gives a universal expression to his rejection of formal naturalism. He says:

Space and Time are properly nothing in themselves. They are matters merely relative to being, action, passion, sequence of ideas and measure of attention within and without the soul. Have you, good time-keeper of the drama, never had times in your life when hours became moments, and days, hours; and, contrariwise, when hours became days, and night-vigils, years? Have you never been in situations when your soul dwelt wholly without you, here, in the romantic room of your beloved, there, at that stark corpse, here in this oppression of external, shameful want—and when it flew out beyond world and time, leaped over spaces and cosmic regions, forgetting everything about itself and living in the heaven, in the soul, in the heart of him whose being at that time took the place of your own?<sup>1</sup>

Herder obliterates the artificial division, but not the proper distinction, between substance and form. He denies the possibility of comprehending and judging form apart from the genetic individuality which actuates it. Every application of a rule of form is with him a new development and refinement of it, because each application involves a reference to a new particular character of individuality. Every principle of form is thus not a fixed item in a general static formula, but a further stage in the growth of a living reality revealed by the proper method of induction in accordance with the law of agreement. Form is part of the ceaseless but ordered flux of organic life. The final decision lies, however, with the individual critic only in so far as he is borne out by the permanent judgment of the particular folk individuality of which he is a part and mouthpiece.

<sup>1</sup> In *Shakespeare*.

The validity of Herder's judgments rests in the first place on the correctness of his interpretations of the individualizing functions of environment. He warns against both false limitations and over-generalizations. He protests, as we have seen, against the narrow egotistic-nationalistic view represented by the *Bardenwindsbraut* of his age, and against the confusion of the folk with both the mob and the "pedants" and the oversophisticated class generally. He also scorns the mere curiosities and externalities gathered in travelers' tales. He seeks the deeper, symptomatic significance of details. There may be found, he says,<sup>1</sup> profound likenesses in apparently opposite conditions. Essential identity of representative utterance or act must imply essential identity of individuality. If it should appear

that Sappho and a Lithuanian girl sang of love in the same manner, surely, then, the rules governing their song must be true; for then they must be rooted in the nature of love and reach to the ends of the earth. If Tyraeus and an Icelander intone their battle songs in the same manner, then their poetic forms must be true, because they reach from one end of the earth to the other.

Herder was not a betrayer of beauty. On the contrary, it was he, above all men of his generation, who rescued it from the lifeless formalism of rationalism or pseudo-classicism and transplanted it into the rich and living ground of his conception of genetic individuality. One has to read only the tenth book of *Dichtung und Wahrheit* to realize how clearly he was recognized as the herald of the new vision of beauty, the awakener of the most gifted among the young generation of Germany, including Goethe. Goethe came to Strassburg, restive yet captive in the bondage of Leipzig rationalistic convention; he left it, less than a year later, in full career toward the greatest modern achievement in letters. All his greatest works, his most beautiful songs, his best dramas, his novels, including his *Wilhelm Meister* in its most vital parts, and above all, his *Faust*, were the fruits of ideas, partly released, but to no small part begotten, by Herder's teaching. By acquiescing in the flimsy misjudgment of Friedrich Schlegel and abandoning Herder, he deserted for a time his own truest self.

<sup>1</sup> *Ossian*.

Herder cannot be charged with responsibility for the Storm and Stress. He was more distressed and irritated than Goethe by the crudeness and ugliness of the products of that movement, which was the turbulent expression of a group of immature, and for the most part inferior talents, who by the immoderation of their tempers, their inadequate knowledge and judgment, and their violent egotism, would have caricatured and did caricature any conception of the age, no matter how profound and true.

In one of his best utterances, his prize essay *Über die Ursachen des gesunkenen Geschmacks*,<sup>1</sup> which belongs to the same period as the essays on folk literature, Herder has expressed his unmistakable condemnation of the Storm-and-Stress movement on account of the very fault which Friedrich Schlegel and Goethe and Schiller attributed to him. After stating that there is a doctrine abroad which insists that genius requires no training and would only suffer in its originality from a study of the best models, especially the ancients, he continues:

An evil demon invented this principle, which is the ugliest untruth. A genius that would be spoiled by taste! Let it pass away! Better that it should perish now than live to corrupt others. He that is corrupted by knowledge of the ancients—let him be corrupted! He has nothing to lose. They are always appealing to Shakespeare. What of Shakespeare? Had he no taste, no rules? More than anyone else; but they were the taste of *his*<sup>2</sup> time, the rules for that which *he* could accomplish. Had he with his genius lived in the times of the ancients, does anyone believe that he would have fought against taste?

There are other passages in the same vein, in others of his works. But this quotation may suffice.

Herder did not teach that beauty is secondary, but that its primary seat is in specific individuality, to which form is secondary. Form as such has neither meaning nor beauty. Only form instinct with beautiful and significant individuality is beautiful and significant. Beauty and significance organically combined are his postulates for art and literature.

As to significance, Herder rejected the rationalistic interpretation of it as an abstraction constituted of ratiocinative ideas, as well as

<sup>1</sup> First edition 1773, second, 1775.

<sup>2</sup> The emphasis is Herder's.

the naturalistic Storm-and-Stress view that a literal acceptance and reproduction of actuality alone bears the impress of truth. In determining this conception he resorted again to the inductive method. He sought the selective agent or principle not in discursive formulas, nor in a fixed direction of attention toward literal fact, nor finally in an arbitrary subjective preference, such as romanticism was soon to proclaim, but in the permanent historical verdict of a people.

The same method he applied to the formal principles of beauty. Not only what mattered, but also in what form it properly mattered, i.e., what form embodied the proper principles of beauty in fullest harmony with the specific substance of each individual matter, this question also he brought before the tribunal of permanent, historical, integral folk judgment.

He gave an entirely new meaning to taste or poetic-artistic judgment. Like its functions, so taste itself has neither absolute existence nor absolute validity. Taste itself is in turn a function of the whole organism of the mind and with the latter organically conditioned.<sup>1</sup>

To sum up: Herder discovered the genetic criteria of substance and form of literature and art in their specific relations to each other and in their organic unity within particular individuality. The pseudo-classical formalism of Schiller and Goethe in the last decade of the century was a temporary reversion to a doctrine which Herder had disposed of a score of years before.

#### THE CONFLICT BETWEEN THE MYTH OF THE GOLDEN AGE AND THE THEORY OF HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

Herder's conception of folk personality is, as we have seen, a combination of a twofold induction, one part of which is derived from an analysis of the formal characteristics of representative folk utterance, and the other from a historical account of the principal genetic conditions of particular folk individualities. The unity of this combination is assured by his interpretation of form as an index of individuality, i.e., by his subordination of form to personality.

<sup>1</sup> See the next chapter.

There appear in passages and summaries drawn in this chapter from Herder's works, a number of terms, phrases, and judgments, which seem to betray a fundamental division among his conclusions. In several passages in *Ossian*,<sup>1</sup> he seems to accept Rousseau's and Hamann's ideal of the "natural man," the primitive savage untouched by the disintegrating self-consciousness and intellectuality of civilization, as the perfect type of personality. This natural man is supposed to be in spontaneous, unreflective, faultless command of the totality of the faculties of man, spiritual, ethical, and physical. The intellect, interpreted as ratiocinative self-consciousness, is condemned as the destroyer of this spontaneous harmony. Its arrival in the history of man is the moment of his fall.

This "natural man" is the eighteenth-century form of the pagan ideal of perfection embodied in the myth of the Golden Age. In the detailed elaboration of their versions of this universal myth, however, both Rousseau and Hamann were influenced by their intense devotion to Christianity. They found in the story of the Garden of Eden, in the sinfulness of eating the fruit of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, and in the misery resulting from the fall, divine confirmation of their ideal of man and of their condemnation of rationalism. The discursive reason becomes Satan in the theology of Rousseau and Hamann.

Herder, primarily as an imaginative man gifted with the symbolic vision of mythology, and secondarily as a theologian, was at first strongly attracted to Rousseau's and Hamann's myth. We can distinguish four periods in his attitude toward it. During the immature years of the *Fragmente*, he was, as indicated by the *Fragmente*,<sup>2</sup> strongly influenced by the naturalistic or pagan part of Rousseau's doctrine. He based his literary principles almost exclusively on classical, especially Greek, and on ancient oriental, as he characteristically called Old Testament, literatures. In the next period, comprising his travels, his visit to Strassburg, and the early part of his residence in Bückeburg, from about 1770–73, he was still more alienated from the theological point of view, going even so far as to deny the immortality of the soul. He became absorbed in

<sup>1</sup> See the first part of this chapter, *Modern Philology*, November, 1921, pp. 124–29.

<sup>2</sup> Including his literal interpretation of the four ages of language.

the investigations of the relations between the physiological and biological environment and the mind of man, laying down his first conclusions in the essay on the *Origin of Language*, his most important work of the first part of this period. The latter part of this period was devoted to the continuation of his studies of folk literature and led to a gradual substitution of the historical view for the fallacy of the Golden Age. Among the essays which are the subject of this chapter, *Ossian* shows more traces of the myth than the others. *Shakespeare* is almost free from them.

The third period covers the remainder of his stay in Bückeburg until his removal to Weimar. Under the influence of his duties and associations as court preacher he developed an interest and a theological belief in the story of the Garden of Eden. He produced, beside important theological polemics against rationalism in religion, his *Älteste Urkunde des Menschengeschlechts* and *Auch eine Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*, which latter contains the germs of the *Ideen*. Both are serious and ambitious, yet his least satisfactory and profitable works, because they express beside much that is valuable and profound, an illogical tendency to force a literal acceptance of the story of the Garden of Eden upon the interpretation of history.

After his escape from the intellectual and imaginative isolation in Bückeburg, in 1776, however, and with the beginning of his intimate contact with the richest mental environment of the age, in Weimar, he rapidly regained his clarity. In his *Ideen*, in which he completed his ideas of the conditions of historical development, the genetic view held exclusive sway.

In Herder's conception of folk personality and folk literature the crucial terms in which the conflict between the myth of the Golden Age and the theory of historical development is manifested in its essence, are spontaneity and the conditions of individuality. The conflict involves analogous divergences in the interpretation of each.

Individuality, in the myth, would be not merely a primary fact of concrete reality but an absolute datum, proceeding directly and inscrutably from the hand of the Creator. Rousseau could consider the environment represented by changed conditions of human society only as hostile to the primal perfection of man. Particular individuality, the product of specific factors in the continuous change of

environment, and the primary fact of Herder's view of reality, appeared to Rousseau as a form of sinfulness and loss of original integrity, symbolized, theologically, in the fall, and philosophically, in the inner division marked by the rise of critical self-consciousness.

Spontaneity, the volitional expression of individual integrity, must be, and is, in the myth consistently interpreted as the unconscious push of the totality of individual being, i.e., the opposite of action involving analytic judgment. This conception, which was to become one of the chief tenets of later romanticism, limits spontaneity to the function of a blind and passive, integral momentum wholly beyond scrutiny and control. The historical view, on the other hand, must regard spontaneity as an organic combination of all the principal functions of individuality, including ratiocination. In the myth, spontaneity is an absolute, mystical, primary unit, withdrawn beyond the limits of any save "transcendental," or speculative, analysis; in the genetic view, it is an organic harmony of different "powers" or "faculties" (as the terms were in the eighteenth century), or functions, and so amenable to empirical analysis. In the former, ingenuousness and naïveté appear as primary and indispensable ignorance and unconsciousness of self; in the latter, as the highest forms of knowledge and possession of self in a unity of idea and expression which is the product of the most comprehensive and appropriate synthesis possible of sensation, emotion, imagination, and ratiocination. The mythical form of spontaneity dwells at the absolute beginning, at the mystical divine fountain head of life; the genetic, at the historical point of greatest fulness and co-ordination of the principal energies of being.

Spontaneity is thus the definitive concrete evidence of individuality; and the method of interpreting its composition, the specific index of each of the two opposite views.

The genetic conception was decisive in Herder's view of the conditions of individuality. It was dominant in his main conclusions even amid the mythological rhetoric of the *Fragmente*. In his prize essay on the *Origin of Language*, he had given an exhaustive outline of his theory of organic psychology, which remained, essentially unchanged, throughout his subsequent works the basis of his account of individuality. As to his conception of spontaneity in folk literature, it is

sufficient to recall the conclusive passage<sup>1</sup> in which he insists that a modern poet, in order to become a true folk poet, must carefully analyze and judge the character of his poetic subject; and that even an "intellectual" theme may become true folk poetry provided the analysis embodied in its composition be an appropriate expression of its inherent intention.

Immediately after, partly even during, his studies of folk literature, he returned to renewed and exhaustive investigations of organic psychology. His most important results appeared in *Ursachen des gesunkenen Geschmacks*, a prize essay, published in 1773 and again in 1775; and *Vom Erkennen und Empfinden der menschlichen Seele*, published 1774, 1775, and again, much revised, in 1778.

His conceptions of environment attained to complete and final expression in his *Ideen*. In the first part, on which he began writing in October, 1782, and which was published Easter, 1784, he sums up his position thus: Man is a product of nature. The laws of history are therefore the laws of nature. "Even spirit and morality are physics."<sup>2</sup>

The mass, the continuity and consistency, and the specific definition of his genetic theory, together with the express assertion of inclusiveness contained in the *Ideen*, present an evidence so overwhelming that the early lapses should be ignored as irrelevant and temporary. Herder-at-the-goal himself has corrected Herder-on-the-way. The remnants of the myth of the Golden Age, which can be discovered in his essays on folk literature, should be understood in the main as expressions of a rhetorical enthusiasm cast in the forms of current and graphic symbols of naturalness and simplicity. As regards particularly the identification of the formal virtues of folk poetry, namely, vividness, concreteness, choice of substantive terms, originality, authenticity, economy, simplicity, perception of essentials, unity, and force,<sup>3</sup> with a state of primeval naïveté, innocent of any trace of ratiocination, this manifest absurdity disappears if it is taken not literally but as a personification of the qualities which the same method of analysis that underlay his genetic view had revealed as the characteristic expression of folk personality.

<sup>1</sup> P. 365 above.

<sup>2</sup> Auch Geist und Moralität sind Physik.

<sup>3</sup> See my summary on pp. 124 ff. of the first part of this chapter, *Modern Philology*, November, 1921.

The original and permanent substance of his interpretation of folk literature lies in these characterizations and is not affected by flurries of doctrine. We have but to bear in mind that in the *Fragmente*, and also, though less explicitly, in the essays on folk poetry, he counted not only the authors of the ancient folk ballads, epics, and mythologies, but also those of the Old Testament and classical Greek poetry, including Homer and Sophocles, among the savages and primitives, in order to realize that his use of these terms was metaphorical.

The positive motive of the myth of the Golden Age is the universal longing, which is most potent and creative among the highly gifted peoples, for a state of perfection and complete harmonious unity of being. This longing antedates history and must have been coeval with the first stir of intelligence. It has brought with it, in every known embodiment, as its negative correlative, a fixed aversion to ratiocination. The discursive understanding is in all these myths the divider, the destroyer of unity and innocence, the tempter, the enemy of perfection. In all mythologies from the time of the story of the Garden of Eden until the present, it has been in one form or another characteristic of the principle of Evil. The revolt of the eighteenth century against rationalism, which by its shallow and tyrannical formalism had become odious and intolerable to imaginative and creative natures, revived the ancient myth. It was but natural that in the resentment and heat of conflict the negative animus of the myth should have become now and then unduly prominent.

This abounding animus was shared by Herder, and, joined with the quick pugnacity of his temperament, broke forth now and then during the earlier years of his critical activity, in polemical exaggerations. His praises of the perfection of savages and primitives, his reliance on the intuitions of "unverdorbene Kinder, Frauenzimmer, Leute von gutem Naturverstände"<sup>1</sup> sprang from the rhetorical desire for telling contrast with the empty sophistication and formalism of the "pedants" of contemporaneous rationalism.

The theological phase of this polemical ardor, which is attested by his *Letters on the Study of Theology*, the records of his religious

<sup>1</sup> *Ossian*, chap. viii.

campaign against rationalism, accounts for the passages in *Über die älteste Urkunde des Menschengeschlechts* and *Auch eine Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*, in which historical reality is attributed to the story of the Garden of Eden.

There is, however, a deeper view in which the contradictions between the historical and the mythological account are reconciled. A myth, so universal and persistent as that of the Golden Age, must contain an essential truth.

The crucial difference between the two accounts is that of the particular point at which each places the state of perfection within the order of the events of human history. The myth sets perfection at the absolute beginning, the genetic account at a later point. In the former every later epoch is the product of a division, a break-up of the primary divine unity; in the latter, the sum of the accumulations of a process of organic development. In the former, the present is always a minus, which must keep on growing less throughout the future; and the past, at the beginning of time, can alone be the home of spiritual longing. In the latter, the present is ever another way station forward, and the future instead of the past is the warder of the Golden Age and the Garden of Eden.

The historical is the objective order of events in their actual sequence. The mythological is the inner order of the unfolding of self-consciousness. In the latter every previous state appears as unity and simplicity, every subsequent stage as division, continually, throughout an endless chain of unity broken by division, and ever again unity followed by division. The order of self-consciousness is the reverse of that of objective events. The myth of the Golden Age is, within its proper order, as objective and true as history. It becomes false only if it is removed from the inner to the historical order; if its focus of vision is by hypostasis superimposed upon that pertaining to the literal order, with the result that both the highest and the lowest stages in the development of man are regarded at the same time as the starting-point and the goal, as the primary and the ultimate term.

The confusion of the two orders of thought, the literal and the metaphorical, is the principal characteristic of a rudimentary stage of historical perspective, such as prevailed at the time of Herder's

beginning. It was he who, throughout a long series of progressive studies, developed the fundamental principles of modern history, which are those of the literal genetic order. An overwhelmingly heavy burden of proof rests on those, who, instead of ignoring the traces left by the passing age in his early ideas, and thus harmonizing his immature ideas with the clear and permanent principles of his mature thought, would load him with responsibility for a confusion which the major trend of his work did more than the endeavor of any of his contemporaries, to eradicate.

History, in the meaning created by Herder, is an account of personality, inductively conceived as spontaneity embodied in forms progressively collective, in accordance with the growth of knowledge of the genetic relation between environment and individual life. Its final aim is to combine all the various stages of individuality into an organic conception of humanity, which is to serve each individual not as an absolute and fixed standard of truth, value, and beauty, but as the guiding principle in the discovery and development of his best powers.

Unser Verstand ist nur ein Verstand der Erde, aus Sinnlichkeiten, die uns hier umgeben, allmählich gebildet; so ist's auch mit den Trieben und Neigungen unseres Herzens; eine andre Welt kennt ihre äusserlichen Hülfsmittel und Hindernisse wahrscheinlich nicht. . . . [Man is the final product of all the history of the earth.] Mancherlei Verbindungen des Wassers, der Luft, des Lichts, mussten vorhergegangen sein, ehe der Same der ersten Pflanzen-organisation, etwa das Moos, hervorgehen konnte. Viele Pflanzen mussten hervorgegangen und gestorben sein, ehe eine Tier-organisation ward; und bei dieser gingen Insekten, Vögel, Wasser- und Nachttiere den gebildeteren Tieren der Erde und des Tages vor; bis endlich nach allen die Krone der Organisation unserer Erde, der Mensch, auftrat, Mikrokosmus. Er, der Sohn aller Elemente und Wesen, ihr erlesenster Inbegriff und gleichsam die Blüte der Erdenschöpfung, konnte nichts andres als das letzte Schosskind der Natur sein, zu dessen Bildung und Empfang viele Entwicklungen und Revolutionen vorhergegangen sein mussten.<sup>1</sup>

Further conclusions upon the matters discussed in this chapter have to await an examination of the foundations of Herder's psychology, which is the task of the next chapter.

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<sup>1</sup> Preface to *Ideen*.

[To be continued]

## THE NIBELUNGEN SAGA AND THE GREAT IRISH EPIC

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The long and intimate contact, during the ninth and tenth centuries, between the Irish and Norse settlers, in Ireland,<sup>1</sup> which furnished an easy means for the transmission of literature, has induced many scholars to point out specific elements of Norse literature that are borrowed from the Irish, or elements of the Irish that are borrowed from the Norse.<sup>2</sup> Prominent among these investigators was Professor Heinrich Zimmer, who tried to prove that the great Irish epic, the *Táin Bó Cúalnge*, has been changed in many details as a result of the influence of the *Nibelungen* story.<sup>3</sup> He has centered his attack especially on that most striking episode of the *Táin*, the combat at the ford between Cuchulainn and Ferdiad; and he maintains that the changes wrought under the Viking influence are of such a far-reaching nature that we can hardly form a clear picture of the original Irish story.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The intimacy of the contact between the Irish and the Norse during the Viking period is very generally admitted; but for the opinion that the contact was slight before the twelfth century, see W. Faraday, "On the Question of Irish Influence on Early Icelandic Literature," in *Memoirs of Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society*, Vol. XLIV (1899-1900), No. 2, p. 20.

<sup>2</sup> For discussions of Celtic borrowings see, for example, A. Bugge, "Havelok and Olaf Tryggvason," in *Saga-Book of the Viking Club*, VI (1909-10), 494, 495; S. Bugge, *The Home of the Eddic Poems* (trans. by W. H. Schofield, London, 1899), pp. 71-96; A. Olrik, *The Heroic Legends of Denmark* (trans. by L. M. Hollander, New York, 1919), p. 360.

For discussions of Norse borrowings see A. Bugge, *op. cit.*, pp. 294, 295; S. Bugge, *op. cit.*, pp. 18, 26, 28-66, 213, 214, 215, 288, 334, 352, 360 ff.; E. Hull, "Irish Episodes in Icelandic Literature," in *Saga-Book of the Viking Club*, III (1902-4), 235-70; A. Olrik, *op. cit.*, pp. 288-92, 411, 412, 420, 486, 490, 505; J. Stefansson, "Western Influence on the Earliest Viking Settlers," in *Saga-Book of the Viking Club*, V (1907-8), 288-96.

<sup>3</sup> See "Germanen, germanische Lehnwörter und germanische Sagenelemente in der ältesten Überlieferung der irischen Heldenage," in *Zeit. f. d. Alterthum*, XXXII (1888), 289 ff. The section of this article that treats of the *Nibelungen* influence has been discussed in one or more of its aspects by A. Nutt (*Archaeological Review*, II [1888], 137-42); H. D'Arbois de Jubainville (*Revue Celt.*, IX [1888], 420-23); K. Meyer (*Revue Celt.*, X [1889], 360-69, and *University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature*, II [1916], 562, 563); H. Lichtenberger (*Le Poème et la Légende des Nibelungen* [Paris, 1891], pp. 432-34); C. Andler (*Quid ad Fabulas Heroicas Germanorum Hiberni Contulerint* [Tours, 1897], pp. 77 ff.); E. Windisch (*Táin Bó Cúalnge* [Leipzig, 1905], p. 439); S. Friedmann (*Pubblicazioni della R. Accademia Scientifica Letteraria* [Milan, 1913], pp. 271 ff.).

<sup>4</sup> "Hier haben offenkundig mächtige Verschiebungen der alten irischen Sage stattgefunden, Verschiebungen so durchgreifender Natur, dass wir kaum mehr im Stande sein werden, uns ein völlig klares Bild von diesen Episoden des Táinepos vor den Einwirkung der germ. heldensage zu machen." Zimmer, *op. cit.*, p. 312.

At the time when the Cuchulainn-Ferdiad episode begins,<sup>1</sup> Cuchulainn had for a long time been harassing the invading forces of Queen Medb, defeating her champions in single combat, and arresting the advance of her army into Ulster. Medb, vainly seeking for a warrior of sufficient prowess to overcome Cuchulainn, decides to employ Cuchulainn's comrade, Ferdiad, who is considered especially competent because of his *cónganchness*, or "horny skin." Ferdiad is induced to undertake the combat against his friend only by means of deception, threats, and princely offers; but once his promise is given, his sense of honor holds him to the unwelcome task. The two champions meet, not as enemies, but as friends driven to fight through the cajolery of Queen Medb. Cuchulainn is honor bound to defend the ford against all comers, and Ferdiad feels that he must make good the pledge extorted from him. At the end of the first day, and again at the end of the second day of the conflict, the friends embrace and exchange gifts. Finally, on the fourth day of continuous fighting, Cuchulainn gives Ferdiad a mortal wound and then falls grief stricken at his side saying:

What avails me courage now?  
I'm oppressed with rage and grief,  
For this deed that I have done  
On this body sworded sore!<sup>2</sup>

In the long and passionate lament that follows Cuchulainn recalls his comradeship with Ferdiad and the blood-brotherhood that Scathach had made between them:

Then our famous nurse made fast  
Our blood-pact of amity,  
That our angers should not rise  
'Mongst the tribes of noble Elg!  
  
Sad the morn, a day in March,  
Which struck down weak Daman's son.  
Woe is me, the friend is fall'n  
Whom I pledged in red blood's draught!<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For text and German translation of the Book of Leinster version of the Cuchulainn-Ferdiad episode, the version Zimmer usually refers to in his discussion, see E. Windisch, *op. cit.*, pp. 434-599. A good English translation of the same version of the story is given by J. Dunn, *Táin Bó Cuailnge* (London, 1914), pp. 217-67.

<sup>2</sup> Translated by J. Dunn, *op. cit.*, p. 261.

<sup>3</sup> Translated by J. Dunn, *op. cit.*, p. 266. The Irish text (E. Windisch, *op. cit.*, p. 591) is as follows:

Da naisc ar mummi go m-blád  
ar cró cotraig is géntad,  
conna betis ar ferga  
eter fini find-Elga.

Truág in maten maten máirt,  
ros b'í mac Damáin dithraicht,  
uchan dochara in cara  
dara dallus dig n-dergiala.

Zimmer has not urged that this episode is a simple retelling of any part of the *Nibelungen* saga, a sector taken bodily out of the Germanic story; the great age of the Irish epic makes such a theory untenable, as Zimmer very readily admits.<sup>1</sup> What he does contend is that we can find in the episode certain striking features which prove that the original Irish story has been re-worked under the influence of the *Nibelungen* stories carried to Ireland by the Vikings. Five such features are emphasized:<sup>2</sup>

First, Ferdiad, like the German Siegfried,<sup>3</sup> was provided with a horny skin. Second, the name *Ferdiad* means "man of mist" and is thus the Irish translation of Nibelung. Third, the whole tone of the episode is Germanic and altogether non-Irish. Fourth, the general situation in which Cuchulainn fights with four blood-brothers is a reflection of a similar situation in the *Nibelungen* saga.<sup>4</sup> Fifth, Cuchulainn and Ferdiad are blood-brothers in the Germanic sense of the word; and blood-brotherhood was an institution unknown in Ireland until it was learned from the Norse invaders.

These five considerations taken together are, to say the least, striking. It is not surprising that such students of Scandinavian influence as Alexander Bugge,<sup>5</sup> Eugene Mogk,<sup>6</sup> and Wolfgang Golther<sup>7</sup> have accepted Zimmer's view. For, according to Zimmer, we have

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 313, 314.

<sup>2</sup> See especially Zimmer, *ibid.*, pp. 291-313.

<sup>3</sup> The German form of the name is (following Zimmer) used generally throughout this paper, though it is more probable, of course, that the Norse form, Sigurd, is nearer the form that would have been known in Ireland during the Viking period.

<sup>4</sup> This feature does not appear in the summary given above, for it is not, as a matter of fact, sufficiently justified by the Irish story. See further discussion below.

<sup>5</sup> See "Contributions to the History of the Norsemen in Ireland," Part II, pp. 17, 18, in *Videnskabsselskabets Skrifter* (Christiania, 1900): "Professor Zimmer has proved that in the old Irish Sagas, there are traces of the old Scandinavian custom borrowed from the Vikings, of two men mingling their blood and becoming sworn brothers."

<sup>6</sup> See "Kelten und Nordgermanen," in *Jahresbericht des städtischen Realgymnasiums zu Leipzig* (Leipzig, 1896), p. 24: "Aber nicht nur auf das praktische, auch auf das geistige Leben der Iren haben die Nordgermanen nicht unwesentlich eingewirkt. Nach Zimmers schönen Forschungen unterliegt dies keinem Zweifel mehr. In dem nordirischen Sagenkreise, der Heldenage von Ulster, erscheint als Gegner des Cuchulinn Fer Diad mac Domain, der mit Hornhaut versehen ist, der mit seinem Gegner einst Blutbrüderchaft getrunken hat, der, wie Siegfried von Hagens, durch Cuchulinns Hand fällt, ein treues Bild unseres germanischen Lieblingshelden."

<sup>7</sup> See "Die Wielandsage und die Wanderung der Fränkischen Heldenage," in *Germania*, XXXIII (1888), 476: "Für diesen Gang der Ereignisse spricht auch das Bekanntwerden der Sagen von den Nibelungen in Irland durch die Wikinger im 9. oder in der ersten Hälfte des 10. Jahrhunderts, welches von Zimmer nachgewiesen worden ist."

in the Irish story a hero whose very name is a translation of a name applied to Siegfried; who has, like Siegfried, a horny skin; and who has, again like Siegfried, sworn blood-brotherhood—a custom unknown among the early Irish—after the Scandinavian fashion with the man who is destined to kill him. And along with this array of evidence we have the assurance that the literary influence which we seem to see could readily have come through the intimate contact between the Irish and the Viking settlers.

But will Zimmer's various contentions bear analysis? It is the purpose of this paper to make a very hasty review of the first four contentions and to deal somewhat more fully with the fifth, which, on the face of it, is the weightiest of Zimmer's arguments.

As for the *conganchness*, or horny skin of Ferdiad, which Zimmer would equate with the invulnerable skin of Siegfried, we should remember that nowhere in the earliest Norse version of the *Nibelungen* story, that of the poetic *Edda*, is Siegfried represented as having a skin that could not be pierced by weapons. Nor does Siegfried have a horny skin either in the prose *Edda* or in the *Völsungasaga*. This feature does not appear in the Norse form of the *Nibelungen* story before the *Thidrekssaga*, which is generally recognized as a late Norwegian version of the thirteenth century, based on legends then current in north Germany.<sup>1</sup> It is, therefore, very probable that if the Irish of the ninth and tenth centuries heard any version of the Siegfried story, it was an earlier one in which the hero is not represented as having a horny skin.

But even if we grant that the Vikings in Ireland sang of an invulnerable Siegfried, it is not clear that we find a parallel in Ferdiad; for no less an authority than Professor Windisch holds that the *conganchness* was not an actual part of Ferdiad's body, but a kind of cuirass to be put on and off at will, and he cites passages from various manuscripts that would seem to establish his contention. He cites, for example, a passage in which Cuchulainn finds fault with Ferdiad for not showing him how his *conganchness* is closed and opened,<sup>2</sup> a

<sup>1</sup> For a summary of the opinions regarding the date and origin of the *Thidrekssaga*, see H. Bertleson, *Thidriks Saga af Bern* (Copenhagen, 1911), VI, liv–lvi. Zimmer recognizes (*op. cit.*, pp. 327 ff.) the lack of the horny skin in the early versions, but he argues that the Irish would have come in contact with the version represented by the *Thidrekssaga*.

<sup>2</sup> See Windisch, *op. cit.*, p. 439. S. Friedmann (*op. cit.*, pp. 275 ff.) argues that the idea of the horny skin is so widespread that we may perhaps think of it as Indo-European.

complaint that would have no point if the horny skin were, like Siegfried's, a part of the body. Further proof of the armor-like nature of the *coganchness* is in the fact that *Ferdiad* is wounded over the edge of it:

Cuchulinn ergriff den Kurtzspeer, er schleuderte ihn von seiner Handfläche über den Rand des Schildes und über die Halsöffnung der Hornhaut, so dass die jenseitige Hälfte von ihm sichtbar wurde, nach Durchbohrung seines Herzens in seiner Brust.<sup>1</sup>

The second contention, regarding the name *Ferdiad*, is also open to question. This name, which Zimmer regards as an Irish rendering of *Nibelung*, is a compound of the two words *fer*, meaning "man," and *dio*, genitive *diad*, which Zimmer translates "mist."<sup>2</sup> But Windisch maintains that *dio* means "smoke," and that *Ferdiad* is to be translated "man of smoke" rather than "man of mist."<sup>3</sup> There is, however, in one of the sixteen or more manuscripts of the *Táin Bó Cúalnge* a reading, *Ferdiad nél ndatha*, which would seem to be favorable to Zimmer's view regarding the influence of the word *Nibelung*. It remained for Professor Kuno Meyer to show, in a special article on this passage, that on account of well-established metrical laws the reading *nél*, "cloud," must be considered an error on the part of the scribe of the one manuscript that gives it. Other manuscripts give a slightly different reading here, *ndeilimm datha*, which answers all metrical requirements and must be translated "shapely rod," an epithet frequently applied to warriors.<sup>4</sup> Thus it

<sup>1</sup> Translated by E. Windisch, *op. cit.*, p. 562. The Irish text, as given by Windisch (p. 563) is as follows: "Boruaraid Cuchulaind in certgæ, delgthi do lár a dernainni dar bili in scéith 7 dar brollach in chonganchnis, gor bo rón in leth n-altarach de ar tretgad a chride na chlab." Zimmer argues (*op. cit.*, pp. 295-301) that this incident is a late addition made by a story-teller who has in mind the Siegfried story. But in that case, why does not the narrator make the *coganchness* an actual part of the body instead of implying that it was merely a part of the armor extending up to a certain point?

<sup>2</sup> See *op. cit.*, pp. 301-3. Zimmer argued that the inflection of both parts of the name *Ferdiad* showed it to be a nickname rather than a real name; but Friedmann (*op. cit.*, pp. 282, 283) has pointed out Irish real names in which the first element is inflected as well as the last.

<sup>3</sup> See *op. cit.*, p. 439.

<sup>4</sup> See "Ferdiad the Nibelung," in *University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature*, II (1916), 562, 563.

H. Lichtenberger (*op. cit.*, p. 434) gives two further reasons why there could have been no influence of *Siegfried the Nibelung* on *Ferdiad*. In the first place, "Sigfrid n'est jamais dans aucun texte appelé Nibelunc; il serait donc bien étrange qu'il eût été connu sous ce nom en Irlande"; and secondly, "au VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, époque à laquelle la légende doit avoir été importée en Irlande, nous savons que, sur territoire franc du moins, le nom de *Nibelunc* avait perdu sa signification étymologique de: *homme ou fils des ténèbres*; nous avons donc le droit de nous étonner que les Irlandais aient compris et traduit un mot qui, dans la bouche des Germains, n'était probablement plus qu'un nom propre."

is evident that we have no sufficient grounds for believing that the name *Ferdiad* is an attempt on the part of the Irish story-tellers to translate *Nibelung*.

The contention in regard to the tone<sup>1</sup> of the Irish story is a matter of taste on which we can expect no absolute agreement. But certainly the vast majority of Celtic students will not agree that the spirit of the Cuchulainn-Ferdiad episode is unknown elsewhere in Irish literature. A similar instance, both in tone and situation, appears in *Tóruigheacht Dhiarmada agus Ghrianne*,<sup>2</sup> when the old friends of Dermat are taken by their leader, Finn, against him, they all the time advising Finn against the expedition and aiding Dermat secretly. Or we may compare with the *Táin* episode the *Aided Énfir Áifi*,<sup>3</sup> in which Cuchulainn is brought into combat with his heroic son; or the whole situation in which Fergus finds himself in the *Táin Bó Cuالnge* when he, an Ulster exile, accompanies Medb on the invasion of Ulster. And as for the pathos of the Cuchulainn-Ferdiad episode, it hardly surpasses that of *Longes mac nUsnig*,<sup>4</sup> the Deirdre story.

The comparison between the general situations in the Irish and the Germanic stories is probably the weakest part of Zimmer's argument, for to any reader the differences must appear much more striking than the similarities. The best parallel is that between Cuchulainn's opposition to several blood-brothers and Siegfried's opposition to several blood-brothers; but this parallel is of no real service to Zimmer, since he has equated Cuchulainn, not with Siegfried, but with Hagen.<sup>5</sup> And besides, Cuchulainn fights with *more* than four men at the ford, and of those men we have proof that only two, Ferdiad and Ferbaeth, were actually blood-brothers of Cuchulainn. As for the comparison between Cuchulainn killing Ferdiad and Hagen killing Siegfried, the objection is to be raised

<sup>1</sup> Zimmer cites several incidents from Germanic literature and then concludes (*op. cit.*, p. 304): "Ist hierin nicht echt germanisches heldenleben abgespiegelt? was hat die irische heldensage dem an die seite zu setzen? nichts; ein anderer geist weht aus ihr."

<sup>2</sup> A translation is given by P. W. Joyce, *Old Celtic Romances*, London, 1879.

<sup>3</sup> Edited and translated in *Eriu*, I (1904), 113–21.

<sup>4</sup> A translation is given by A. H. Leahy, *Heroic Romances of Ireland*, I (London, 1905), 91–109.

<sup>5</sup> A. Nutt (*op. cit.*, pp. 137–42) notes this inconsistency in Zimmer's argument and points out the improbability that the Irish would have equated their greatest hero, the victorious Cuchulainn, with the villain Hagen.

that in the earliest version of the Norse Nibelung story—the version that the Irish would have known, if any—Siegfried is not killed by Hagen.

This hasty survey of Zimmer's first four contentions is, perhaps, sufficient to show that they are all open to serious question and give but little support to his hypothesis. But the fifth and most important contention, which has met with considerable favor,<sup>1</sup> is enough within itself, if established, to give much weight to the hypothesis. If it is true that blood-brotherhood was a custom unknown among the early Irish and that the blood-brotherhood mentioned in the Cuchulainn-Ferdia episode is of the Scandinavian type, then we should have to admit some general Scandinavian influence, if not a specific Nibelungen influence.

We may first inquire into the correctness of Zimmer's view that the Irish knew nothing of blood-brotherhood until they learned it from the Vikings. It is now a well-established fact that covenanting by some use of the blood of the covenanters, the custom known as blood-brotherhood, has been practiced in nearly all parts of the world. Scores of examples are recorded,<sup>2</sup> showing that blood-brotherhood has been known throughout the centuries, from hundreds of years before Christ among the early Scythians<sup>3</sup> down to our own day among savage tribes.<sup>4</sup> And the practice is found in such widely scattered regions as America,<sup>5</sup> Australia,<sup>6</sup> Africa,<sup>7</sup> Europe,<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See A. Bugge (*op. cit.*, p. 17); E. Mogk (*op. cit.*, p. 24); W. Golther (*op. cit.*, XXXIII [1888], 476); and H. Lichtenberger (*op. cit.*, p. 433). Even such Celts as A. Nutt (*loc. cit.*) and H. Gaidoz (*Mélusine*, IX [1899], 235) have touched upon Zimmer's discussion of blood-brotherhood without recording a dissenting opinion.

<sup>2</sup> See J. P. Hamilton-Grierson, "Brotherhood (Artificial)," *Enc. of Religion and Ethics*, II (1910), 857-71; M. Pappenheim, *Die Altdänischen Schutsgilden*, Breslau, 1885; H. C. Trumbull, *The Blood Covenant*, London, 1887; S. Clazewski, *Künstliche Verwandtschaft bei den Südslaven*, Cracovie, 1897.

<sup>3</sup> See Lucian, *Tozaris*, chap. xxvii; Herodotus, *Historiae*, IV, chap. lxx; for other early examples of blood-brotherhood mentioned by Herodotus, see *Historiae*, I, chap. lxxiv; III, chaps. vii, viii.

<sup>4</sup> See V. L. Cameron, *Across Africa* (New York, 1877), p. 233; B. Spencer and W. Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia* (New York, 1904), pp. 372, 560, 562, 598.

<sup>5</sup> See H. H. Bancroft, *Native Races of the Pacific States of North America*, I (New York, 1874), 636, 637; F. Fletcher, *World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake* (Hackluyt Society, London, 1854), p. 54.

<sup>6</sup> See B. Spencer and S. Gillen, *op. cit.*; B. Spencer and S. Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia* (New York, 1899), pp. 461, 462.

<sup>7</sup> See H. M. Stanley, *The Congo*, II (London, 1885), 23, 24, 104, 105; D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* (New York, 1889), pp. 525, 526.

<sup>8</sup> See F. S. Krauss, in *Am Ur-Quell*, Neue Folge, I (1890), 194-96; P. B. Du Chaillu, *Viking Age*, II (New York, 1899), 61.

and Asia.<sup>1</sup> Since the early Celts were unquestionably in a cultural state at which blood-brotherhood would have flourished, it is only reasonable to suppose that they, as well as their neighbors, were acquainted with the custom. And furthermore, the wide distribution of the Celtic tribes throughout middle Europe in historical or semi-historical times gave them an unusually good opportunity to learn of blood-brotherhood before the period of their migration to the British Islands—if, indeed, we can suppose that they were not already acquainted with the custom at that early period.

But we do not need to rely merely on probabilities, for there is abundant evidence that the Irish practiced blood-brotherhood. The Welsh historian, Giraldus Cambrensis, writing not later than two years after his visit to Ireland in 1185, not only describes the custom as he knew it, but also records the tradition that it was practiced by the Irish in heathen times.<sup>2</sup> And Martin, a native of the Hebrides who traveled extensively among the Celtic islands off the western coast of Scotland during the latter part of the seventeenth century, reports (apparently on the authority of local tradition) how the ancient islanders had ratified their leagues of friendship “by drinking a drop of each other’s blood.”<sup>3</sup> But, after all, the real evidence for the Celtic custom is found in early Irish literature, which preserves at least eight separate and distinct examples of blood-brotherhood.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See A. Featherman, *Social History of the Races of Mankind*, II (London, 1881–91), 264; D. M. Smeaton, *Loyal Kares of Burma* (London, 1887), pp. 168, 169; Herodotus, *loc. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> Giraldus Cambrensis, *Topographia Hibernica* (ed. by J. F. Dimmock, “Rolls Series,” London, 1867), *distinctio III, caput XXII*.

<sup>3</sup> M. Martin, *Description of the Western Islands of Scotland* (Glasgow, 1884), p. 109.

<sup>4</sup> For these eight examples see:

*Bóroma*, ed. and tr. by W. Stokes, *Revue Celt.*, XIII (1892), 72–77.

*Tdin Bó Cúalnge*, ed. and tr. by E. Windisch (Leipzig, 1905), pp. 434–599; see also J. Dunn, *op. cit.*, pp. 217–67.

*Tdin Bó Cúalnge*, ed. and tr. by E. Windisch (Leipzig, 1905), pp. 290–97; see also J. Dunn, *op. cit.*, pp. 150–54.

*Tochmarc Emire*, ed. by K. Meyer, *Zeit. f. celt. Phil.*, III (1901), 259; tr. by K. Meyer in E. Hull, *Cuchullin Saga* (London, 1898), pp. 81–82. The same blood-brotherhood is also recorded in *Aided Lugdach occus Derbforgaille*, ed. and tr. by C. Marstarander, *Eriu*, V (1911), 208, 214.

*Aided Muirchertaig maic Erca*, ed. and tr. by W. Stokes, *Revue Celt.*, XXIII (1902), 405–7. Stokes omits a poem of seven stanzas that throws much light on the blood-covenant. This poem has, however, been edited and translated from the *Yellow Book of*

And since half of these examples are found in the oldest manuscripts, well imbedded in stories of genuine Irish flavor, that seem to antedate the Viking age, it is possible to make the borrowing theory at all convincing only by the clearest evidence for transmission, especially in view of what we know of the world-wide distribution of the blood-covenant.

Professor Zimmer was, apparently, acquainted with only three examples of Irish blood-brotherhood—two from the *Táin Bó Cúalnge* and one from the *Bóroma*; and in order to support his theory that the Irish did not know the custom before the Viking period, he felt it necessary to explain the covenant in the *Bóroma* as a borrowing. To do this he merely shows that the text in the form preserved belongs to the eleventh or twelfth centuries and contains two Norse loan words.<sup>1</sup> No one denies the lateness of the text, and we have no sufficient evidence for the age of the story itself, which is connected

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*Lecan* facsimile in an unpublished Harvard dissertation by the present writer, *Blood Brotherhood among the Celts* (Cambridge, 1918), pp. 70, 71.

*Colamcille cecinī dia tudcaid Corbmac cuicce as a tir*, ed. and tr. by E. Curry, in W. Reeves, *Life of St. Columba* (Dublin, 1857), pp. 270–75.

*Annals of Ulster*, ed. and tr. by W. M. Hennessy, II (Dublin, 1893, 1895, 1901), 354–57. The same incident is recorded in the *Annals of Loch Cé*, ed. and tr. by W. M. Hennessy, I (London, 1871), 480, 481.

*Togail Troi*, ed. and tr. by W. Stokes, *Irische Texte*, ser. 2, heft 1 (Leipzig, 1884), pp. 19, 83, 84. The *Togail Troi* is a retelling of "Dares Phrygius" (see F. Meister, *Dares Phrygii de Excidio Troiae Historia* [Lipsiae, 1873], p. 13). Since the blood-covenant is an addition made by the Irish writer to his source, it has fully as much value, as evidence for the custom of blood-brotherhood among the Irish, as a blood-covenant recorded in native Irish story.

<sup>1</sup> See Zimmer, *op. cit.*, p. 308. The *Bóroma* is the story of the collecting of a famous tribute, *bóroma*, which was levied somewhat irregularly between the second and eleventh centuries. Zimmer makes a valuable suggestion in speculating on the original extent of the *Bóroma*, which, in the text he knew, breaks off at a gap in the manuscript with the Irish king who died in 693. It is, of course, probable that the blood-covenant incident was written at the time of the whole story, and thus not until after the year which marks the final limit of the narrative. But, on the other hand, if the narrative ends before the date of the last attempt to levy the *bóroma*, it is probable that the whole story, including the blood-covenant, was written shortly after the date marking the end. The date of the end has fortunately been discovered by W. Stokes (*Révue Celt.*, XIII [1892], 32, 116, 117) who edited the *Bóroma* five years after Zimmer's work and found, by comparing the defective *Book of Leinster* text with a text preserved in the *Book of Lecan*, that the narrative continues for only one leaf beyond the break in the *Book of Leinster*, and carries the history of the *bóroma* only to the last of the seventh century, not to the beginning of the eleventh. And, what is more, the story ends with the remark: "Conad he F. forcenn na Boroma" (So that is the end of the *Boroma*). It is difficult to understand why the writer should have made this remark on ending his story with the incidents of the seventh century (unless it is merely the conventional ending), or why he should have continued his narrative no further, unless he was actually writing the story at the beginning of the eighth century.

with Aed, the Irish high king who died in 594; but it is manifestly unscientific to hold that the presence of two Norse loan words, which have no vital connection with the blood-covenant and could easily have been inserted during transcriptions of the manuscript, *proves* that the blood-covenant described in the story was borrowed. It is still more difficult to believe that the covenants of the *Táin Bó Cúalnge* are borrowed, for it is universally conceded that the *Táin* gives us a picture of very early Irish life. Recent archaeological investigation has tended to substantiate the tradition that the *Táin* took shape at about the beginning of the Christian Era.<sup>1</sup> But the original shaping of the material and the casting of it into a definite written form are entirely different matters. The latter problem has been carefully examined by Zimmer,<sup>2</sup> who concludes that as early as the seventh century (long before the Viking period in Ireland) the *Táin* was written down in practically the form in which it is preserved in the twelfth-century manuscripts. In the transmission of the texts there was, no doubt, opportunity for minor changes to creep in. But *minor changes* could never have transformed an episode containing no blood-brotherhood into the Cuchulainn-Ferdiad story, for the covenant between the two men is the very backbone of the narrative. It is therefore only reasonable to conclude that the blood-brotherhood bond must in all probability have existed in some form in the *Táin* version of the eighth century, before the time of the Viking settlements. But even though the presence in Irish literature of the three covenants known to Zimmer could be explained, there would still remain the five that he did not know, each of which would need to be accounted for by the exponent of the borrowing hypothesis.

We cannot, on the basis of evidence thus far considered, deny the possibility that the early Irish learned the practice of covenanting by blood from the Vikings; but we may, fortunately, go a step farther by making a comparison of Norse and Irish methods of covenanting. If Irish blood-brotherhood is of Norse origin, if it is, as Zimmer says, a blood-brotherhood "im germanischen sinne des Wortes,"<sup>3</sup> then it should bear a marked resemblance to the type

<sup>1</sup> See W. Ridgeway, "The Date of the First Shaping of the Cuchulainn Saga," *Proc. British Academy*, II (1905-6), 135-68.

<sup>2</sup> See *Zeit. f. vergleich. Sprachforschung*, XXVIII (1887), 426 ff.; *Zeit. f. d. Alterthum*, XXXII (1888), 234, 314.

<sup>3</sup> See Zimmer, *Zeit. f. d. Alterthum*, XXXII (1888), 305. C. Andler, (*op. cit.*, pp. 80-83) notes the difference in type between the *Bóroma* blood-covenant and the Scandinavian covenants.

employed by the Vikings. The Norse practice is made clear by a number of examples. All our evidence shows that it was somewhat peculiar in that the blood was never used as a drink, but merely allowed to mingle, either in a footprint or in loose earth under a strip of turf; whereas over the world generally the blood was most frequently drunk by the participants. The Norse custom also laid unusual stress on the obligation of the one brother to revenge the death of the other. All of these features of the Norse custom appear in the history of Saxo Grammaticus (twelfth to thirteenth century), who mentions the mingling of blood in a footprint and speaks of it as a practice of the ancients.<sup>1</sup> Saxo's testimony is well supported by examples from the poems of the *Elder Edda*, which date back, in part at least, to the Viking age, and should thus preserve the very form of blood-brotherhood that the Norse would have used in Ireland. In one of the Eddic poems, the *Loka-Senna*, we find Loki reproaching Woden for lack of hospitality, citing the time when they had mingled their blood together.<sup>2</sup> And in another Eddic poem, *Brot af Sigorðarkviðo*, appears a blood-covenant of unusual interest, since it is between Sigurd (the German Siegfried) and Gunnar, two of the characters from the *Nibelungen* saga whom Zimmer takes as models for two of the Irish blood-brothers of the *Táin Bó Cúalnge* episode we have under consideration. Moreover, the date of the *Brot* is placed about the year 1000,<sup>3</sup> just at the time when, according to Zimmer's hypothesis, the *Nibelungen* elements were entering the Irish epic.<sup>4</sup> If the Irish had borrowed blood-brotherhood along with other elements from the *Nibelungen* saga, they would, in all probability, have used the form of covenant described in the *Brot* as having existed between Sigurd and Gunnar. This covenant was the typical Norse<sup>5</sup> one in which participants mingled their blood in a footprint, as is made clear by Brynhild's

<sup>1</sup> See *Gesta Danorum*, ed. by A. Holder, I (Strassburg, 1886), 23.

<sup>2</sup> See B. Sijmons and H. Gering, *Die Lieder der Edda* (Halle, 1908), p. 126:  
"Mant[u] bat, Óðinn, es vit i árdaga  
blöndum blöþi saman?"

<sup>3</sup> See F. Jónasson, *Den oldnorske og oldislandske Litteratur Histories*, I (Copenhagen, 1894-1902), 285.

<sup>4</sup> See *Zeit. f. d. Alterthum*, XXXII (1888), 330.

<sup>5</sup> By *typical Norse*, as it is used here and below, is meant the well-known Norse type that has been preserved in a considerable number of examples. It is possible, of course, that other forms of covenanting by blood were known to the Vikings, and have not been recorded.

reproof of Gunnar: "Ill, Gunnar! didst thou remember when blood ye in your footsteps both let flow."<sup>1</sup>

When we turn from this typical Norse blood-covenant formed by Sigurd and Gunnar to the Cuchulainn-Ferdiad covenant, we find not a notable similarity in method, but a striking difference, for the bond had been formed in the latter instance by the *drinking* of blood:

Woe is me, the friend is fall'n  
Whom I pledged in red blood's draught.

That blood-drinking was a significant part of the Irish ceremony we know also from the example found in the *Bóroma* and from the testimony of Giraldus Cambrensis and Martin. All the evidence I have been able to secure concerning Irish blood-brotherhood shows that the Irish never allowed the blood to mingle, either in a footprint or in loose earth after the Norse fashion. Nor is there in the Celtic the least trace of the revenge motif so commonly stressed in the Norse. The Celtic methods of forming blood-covenants are very closely paralleled by those found in widely scattered parts of the world, but are notably different from the methods employed among the Norse of the Viking period. The conclusion forced upon us is that, whatever the source of Irish blood-brotherhood may be—if we must look for a source—there is no evidence to show that it was borrowed from the Norse.

Since Zimmer's strongest argument is untenable, and since each of his other arguments is open to grave objections, we are justified in rejecting his hypothesis that the Cuchulainn-Ferdiad episode was re-worked under the influence of the *Nibelungen* saga.

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<sup>1</sup> See B. Thorpe, *The Edda* (London, 1866), p. 87. The text (ed. by B. Stjmons and H. Gering, *op. cit.*, p. 356) is as follows:

"Mantat, Gunnarr, til górvá þat,  
es blóðe i spor báper rendop."

The Norse method of mingling blood in loose earth while the participants passed under a strip of loose turf is described in *Gísla saga Súrssonar* (ed. by F. Jónsson, *Alt-nordische Saga-Bibliothek*, X [1903], 13, 14) and in *Þorsteins saga Þvíkingasonar*, kap. XXI (ed. by V. Ásmundarson, *Fornaldarsögur Nordlanda*, Reykjavík, 1885, II). For discussions of Norse blood-brotherhood, see the general references already given and in addition: F. B. Gummere, *Germanic Origins* (New York, 1892), p. 173; Jakob Grimm, *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache*, I (Leipzig, 1849), 136, 137; and *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, I (Leipzig, 1899), 266.

## THE MALADY OF CHAUCER'S SUMMONER

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Although Chaucer's Summoner appears to stand in no awe of the Archdeacon's curse on account of his spiritual degeneracy, he may well consider consulting a doctor of medicine regarding his aggravated physical disease. All symptoms indicate that he is a dangerously sick man. Says the poet:

A Somnour was ther with us in that place,  
That hadde a fyr-reed cherubinnes face,  
For sawcefleem he was, with eyen narwe.  
As hoot he was, and lecherous, as a sparwe;  
With scalled browes blake, and piled berd;  
Of his visage children were aferd.  
Ther nas quik-silver, litarge, ne brimstoon,  
Boras, ceruce ne oille of tarte noon,  
Ne oynement that wolde clense and byte,  
That him mighte helpen of his whelkes whyte,  
Nor of the knobbes sittinge on his chekes.  
Wel loved he garleek, oynons, and eek lekes,  
And for to drinken strong wyn, reed as blood.<sup>1</sup>

If one might put faith in the accuracy of Chaucer's description of the case, together with his suggestion of the possible causes and the cure of the ailment, and if a layman might venture upon a diagnosis, by the card, according to the medical lore of the Middle Ages, it would seem that the Summoner is afflicted with a species of morphea known as *gutta rosacea*, which has already been allowed to develop into that kind of leprosy called *alopicia*.

He who would seek to unravel the utter confusion of terms applied by the medieval medical writers to different contagious and non-contagious skin diseases sets for himself an impossible task. Each author classifies and reclassifies, divides once and again, to suit his own pleasure, until we can scarcely distinguish *psora* from *leuce*, *albaras* from *melos*, or *impetigo* from *morphea*. Lanfrank

<sup>1</sup> *The Oxford Chaucer*, ed. Skeat, *Canterbury Tales*, A, 623 ff.

indeed attempts to bring order out of chaos,<sup>1</sup> but his conclusions are far from satisfactory. In spite of differences of opinion, however, I gather that morphea—by whatever name it may be designated—is a skin disease resulting from the presence of certain impurities in the blood, and that there are four species of it corresponding to the four natural humors of the body. That “cursed monk dan Constantyn,” whose work Chaucer must have known,<sup>2</sup> says:

Morphea est corruptio sanguinis, unde nutritur cutis corporis, siue macula intercutaneae carnis. Cuius causa universalis defectio est digestiuae uirtutis. Que cum defecerit, sanguinem corruptit, qui ad cutem ueniens eam nutrit. Si autem phlegmatica sit eius, alba fit morphea. Si cholera, nigra erit morphea. Est autem morphea triplex, uel enim liuidi coloris, nascens de materia cholERICA & sanguinea, uel nigra nascens de sanguine melancholico, uel alba, & est de phlegmate salso. In quibus tribus generibus non sanguis est minuendus, se oportet forti medicamine purgetur.<sup>3</sup>

Gilbertus Anglicus—Chaucer's “Gilbertyn” (*C.T.*, A, 434)—is a little more definite in his discussion “De morphea”:

Cause autem antecedentes sunt iiii humores. Et que fit ex sanguine propinquior est ad lepram. Unusquisque humor proprium dat colorem cuti. et que est de sanguine est rubei coloris. et que est de colere est citrini coloris et que de salso flegme est flavi coloris. et que de flegme naturali est albi coloris. et que de melancolia est nigri coloris.<sup>4</sup>

Now, I suspect that this type of morphea which is produced *ex sanguine* and which colors the face a livid red is none other than the gutta rosacea of various authors. Bartholomaeus de Glanvilla suggests as much:

Morphea is speckes in ye skin, and commeth of corruption of meat and drink. And yt which is leper in ye flesh, is Morphea in ye skin. Also

<sup>1</sup> Lanfrank's *Science of Cirurgie*, EETS.O.S., 102, pp. 193 ff. (Cf. also *Cyrurgia parua Lanfranci*, Venetis, 1499, f. 182.) Guy de Chauliac seems to be impatient with the classification of skin diseases attempted by his fraternal enemy; see *La Grande Chirurgie*, Gvy de Chavliac, ed. Nicaise, Paris, 1890, p. 413, or *Cyrurgia Gvidonis de Cavliaco*, Venetis, 1499, f. 51, r. 1. For further discussion of terminology among the Greeks, Arabians, Romans, and others, see *Seven Books of Paulus Aegineta*, trans. Francis Adams, II, 1-35 *passim*, and Commentaries to sections 1 and 2 of Book IV; J. H. Baas, *The History of Medicine*, pp. 313-15.

<sup>2</sup> This is Constantinus Africanus of Carthage (1015-87) mentioned by Chaucer in his list of celebrated physicians (*C.T.*, A, 433) and also in connection with a work called *De coitu* (*C.T.*, E, 1807-11). The curious reader may verify Chaucer's reference to the *De coitu* by consulting Constantinus' *Opera, conquisita undique magno studio jam primum typis euulgata*, Basileae, 1536, pp. 306 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, Lib. VII, cap. xviii, p. 161.

<sup>4</sup> Gilbert Anglicus, *Compendium medicine*, Lugduni, 1510, f. clxx, v<sub>1</sub>. For a discussion of Gilbert's life, see Handerson's *Gilbertus Anglicus, Medicene of the Thirteenth Century*.

Morphea is white, and commeth of fleme, and some is black, and commeth of Melancholia, and some is red and commeth of Cholera or of bloud. The Morphea yt commeth of Melancholia and of fleme, is hard to heale; and ye Morphea yt commeth of bloud is more easie to heale. Morphea is uncurable, if the skin of the face be pight and pricked with a needell and bleedeth not, and if it bleedeth then it is curable. And Morphea is all in the skinne, and Lepra is both in the flesh & in the skinne. This infection differeth but little from the infection that is called *Gutta rosea*, that infecteth the face with small and soft pimples, and commeth of gleamie, bloudye, and cholarike humours that bee betweeane the skinne and the flesh.<sup>1</sup>

And Bernardus de Gordon, whose account of morphea is similar to that of Bartholomew, leaves no doubt of the matter: "si sit de sanguine et sit in facie appellabitur *guttarosacea*. . . . Si color fuerit rubeus fuscus maculosus, tunc est de sanguine."<sup>2</sup> Chaucer's Summoner, who has such a "fyr-reed cherubinnes face" that children are afraid of him, appears to have been suffering at first merely from gutta rosacea, a skin disease better known to the early English authors as "sawcefleem."

Still further and more detailed descriptions of this malady, together with causes and remedies for effecting a cure, may be found in almost every medical work of any importance dating from Chaucer's time. Lanfrank says:

*Gutta rosacea*, þat is a passioun þat turneþ þe skyn of a mannys face out of his propur colour & makiþ þe face reed. & þis passioun comeþ of humouris brent & abidiþ in þe skyn, & herfore is a good purgacioun þat purgiþ salt humours.<sup>3</sup>

Andrew Boorde, in a discussion of a "Sauceflewme Face" found in his *Dietary*, remarks:

*Gutta rosacea* be the latin wordes. In Englyshe it is named a sauce fleume face, which is rednes about the nose and the chekes, with small pymples; it is a preuye signe of leprousnes. . . . This impedymant doth come of euyl dyet, and a hote lyuer, or disorderlyng of a mans complexion in his youth, late drynkyng, and great surfetynge.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Batman upon Bartholome*, London, 1582, pp. 114 ff. This is an English translation, made in 1397, of Bartholomaeus de Glanvilla's *De proprietatibus rerum*, composed in 1366; see the Basili edition of 1475, p. 63, for the foregoing passage. And for a discussion of the author, see Se Boyar's article in *Jour. Eng. and Germ. Philol.*, XIX, 168 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Bernardus de Gordon, *Practica dicta Lilium medicinae*, Lyons, 1491, sig. ds, v<sup>o</sup>. This is Chaucer's "Bernard" (C.T., A, 434), concerning whom see Hinckley's *Notes on Chaucer*, p. 35.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 190.

<sup>4</sup> Andrew Boorde's *Introduction and Dietary*, ed. Furnivall, EETS.E.S., 10, pp. 101-2.

And a still fuller account is given by the later writers, Willan and Thomas Bateman, under the head of *Acne rosacea*, to which is appended the note, "This is the *gutta rosea*, or *rosacea*, of authors":

This form of Acne differs in several respects from the preceding species.<sup>1</sup> In addition to an eruption of small suppurating tubercles, there is also a shining redness, and an irregular granulated appearance of the skin of that part of the face which is affected. The redness commonly appears first at the end of the nose, and afterwards spreads from both sides of the nose to the cheeks, the whole of which, however, it seldom covers. In the commencement it is not uniformly vivid; but is paler in the morning, and readily increased to an intense red after dinner, or at any time if a glass of wine or spirits be taken. . . . This species of Acne seldom occurs in early life . . . ; in general it does not appear before the age of forty; but it may be produced in any person by the constant immoderate use of wine and spirituous liquors. The greater part of the face, even the forehead and the chin, are often affected in these cases; but the nose especially becomes tumid, and of a fiery red colour. . . . At this period of life, too, the colour of *Acne rosacea* becomes darker and more livid; and if suppuration take place in any of the tubercles, they ulcerate unfavorably, and do not readily assume a healing disposition.<sup>2</sup>

This is a rather accurate description, I take it, of the Summoner's appearance in the earlier stages of his disease; but not even the most violent *gutta rosacea* can account for his "scalled browes blake and piled berd," nor for his "narwe" eyes, nor for the "whelkes whyte" and the "knobbes" sitting on his cheeks. Evidently the "sawcefleem" has already developed, in the opinion of Chaucer,<sup>3</sup> into that type of leprosy which also comes *ex sanguine*.

In all the works of medical writers from the ancient Greeks, Romans, and Arabians on down to the authors who may be said to have laid the foundations of modern medicine, the general signs of

<sup>1</sup> Willan and T. Bateman, *A Practical Synopsis of Cutaneous Diseases*, Philadelphia, 1818. The other species are *Acne simplex* (p. 285), *Acne punctata* (p. 291), *Acne indurata* (p. 292), which, with *Acne rosacea*, correspond to the four species of *morphea*, I suppose. For a further division of the "genus *gutta rosea*" into three species, see Erasmus Darwin's *Zoonomia*, Boston, 1809, Class II, 1, 4, 6; IV, 1, 2, 13, 14.

<sup>2</sup> Willan and T. Bateman, *op. cit.*, pp. 297-99.

<sup>3</sup> There is, of course, actually no relation between any of these skin diseases and leprosy proper; Chaucer is merely following the medical opinion of his time. Cf. Boorde, *op. cit.*, p. 101; *Batman vpon Bartholome*, p. 63; Bateman, *op. cit.*, p. 294, note; *Cyrrugia Rogerii*, Venetiis, 1499, f. 225—or any history of medicine.

elephantiasis or leprosy are found to be about the same.<sup>1</sup> Bernardus de Gordon, no doubt following the earlier writers, says:

Signa infallibilia sunt ista: Depilatio superciliorum et grossisies eorum, rotunditas oculorum, dilatio narium exterius; et coartatio interius. cum difficultate anhelitus; et quasi si cum naribus loqueretur, et facie lucidus vergens ad fuscedinem mortificatam, et terribilis aspectus faciei cum fixo intuitu. . . . Signa oculta . . . in principio sunt ista: color faciei rubens vergens ad nigredinem et incipit anhelitus immutari, et vox aliquo modo raucescit, etc.<sup>2</sup>

Bartholomaeus de Glanvilla agrees:

Caro in eis notabiliter est corrupta, oculi et palpebre corrugantur, aspectum habent scintillantem maxime in leonina; angustiantur nares et contrahuntur; vox rauca efficitur.<sup>3</sup>

And John of Gaddesden—Chaucer's “Gatesden” (*C.T.*, A, 434)—definitely associates the general signs with *gutta rosacea*:

In the first place you must note if the usual red color of the face tends toward a black hue, and if the patient suffers from *gutta rosacea* in his nose or face . . . if he sweats much and his hair begins to get thin and sparse. . . . The color of the body tends towards black, laboured breathing and a husky voice (*strictura anhelitus et vocis*) . . . a nasal tone of voice, thinness and falling of the hair . . . *rotunditas* of the eyes, a greasiness of the skin, etc.<sup>4</sup>

Even the general signs of elephantiasis agree, it will be observed, with the physiognomical characteristics which Chaucer has attributed to his Summoner.

It must be observed, however, that the earlier of our modern writers on the science of medicine describe the elephantiasis of the Greeks as a species merely of lepra, of which they present four kinds; namely, the elephantia, leonina, alopecia, and tyria, each being associated with one of the various humors of the blood. This

<sup>1</sup> See *Seven Books*, trans. Adams: *Actuarius*, II, 11; *Avicenna* (Chaucer's “*Avicen*,” *C.T.*, A, 432), II, 12; *Serapion* (Chaucer's “*Serapion*,” A, 432), II, 13. Cf. *Haly filius Abbas*, *Liber totius medicinae*, Lyons, 1523, Lib. VIII, cap. xv.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, cap. xxii.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 64.

<sup>4</sup> Ioannes de Gadesden, *Rosa Anglica practica medicinae*, Pavia, 1492, car. 56, f<sub>1</sub>. I quote from a translation of this passage found in Cholmeley's *John of Gaddesden and the Rosa Medicinae*, pp. 45–46.

arrangement dates first from Alsaharavius.<sup>1</sup> For example, as Bartholomaeus has it:

In foure manner wise Lepra is diuerse, as the foure humours be passingly and diuersely medled. One manner Lepra commeth of pure Melancholia, and is called *Elephantia*, & hath that name of the Elephant, that is a full great beast and large. For this euill grieuth & noith the patient passing strongly and sore. Therefore this euill is more harde and fast, and worse to heale then other. The second commeth of melancholy and of fleme, and is called *Tiria*, or *Serpentina*; and hath yt name of an adder that is called *Tirus*. For as an Adder leaueth lightlye his skin and his scale, so he that hath this manner Lepra is oft stript and pilled and full of scales. The third manner of Lepra commeth of melancholy, infecting of bloud, and is called *Alopicia*, and *Vulpina*. . . . The Foxe hath a propertie, that his haire falleth in Summer for heat of bloud in the liuer; so oft his haire that hath this euill falleth from the browes, and from other places. The fourth manner Leperhood commeth of red Cholera, corrupt in the members with melancholy, and is called *Leonina*.<sup>2</sup>

Now, in our discussion of the Summoner we are evidently concerned only with the third species, alopecia, which is a disease of the flesh growing out of an infection of the blood, just as we found gutta rosacea to be that kind of morphea which develops *ex sanguine*. Arnoldus de Villanova—Chaucer's “Arnold of the Newe Toun” (*C.T.*, G, 1428)—describes it at considerable length:

*Allopacia est species lepre, que sit ex sanguine adjusto. et in ista specie toto depillantur supercilia et barba. Et propter hoc dicitur alopecia ab alopibus, id est, uulpibus. depillantur enim in modum uulpium; oculi eorum infantur, et uehementer rubent. pustule in facie rubee et quinque in toto corpore oriuntur; a quibus manat sanies cum sanguine mixta apparent vene in pectore et odor eorum et sudor et anhelitus fetet et difficuler odorant; nasus infrossatur; et gene tument, etc.*<sup>3</sup>

Gilbertus Anglicus, after giving a like account of the origin of the name and of the cause of the malady—“sit autem ex sanguine corrupto et superabundante . . . et negligentia diete et flommie”—continues:

*Et eius facilis mutatio in pallorem et remissio in ruborem. fiunt autem macule rubore flave flegmatice exterius et sponte recedunt. et facile ac sepe*

<sup>1</sup> See Baas, *op. cit.*, p. 231; Adams, *Seven Books*, II, 14.

<sup>2</sup> Batman upon Bartholome, p. 113. Cf. Arnoldus de Villanova, *Practica medicina*, Venezia, 1494, f. g<sub>1</sub>, v<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, f. g<sub>1</sub>, v<sub>1</sub>.

morphea rufa. et rubores vlcerosi plurimi . . . . vene oculorum *semper* fere rubore profundantur; et oculi *semper* fluidi et lacrimantur et supercilia et cilia depilantur et palpebre inversantur et ingrossantur . . . . supercilia comprimuntur. corpus et facies quinque rubeis maculis et pustulis diffunduntur cutis et caro nimis mollis quasi *semper* sublucida aliqua ventuositate perlita.<sup>1</sup>

Surely when one looks closely at the Summoner there can be no doubt that he is afflicted with alopecia. The pimples which might once have indicated gutta rosacea have developed into great pustules—"whelkes whyte" and "knobbes"—of true leprosy. His eyebrows have nearly all fallen out,<sup>2</sup> and in place of them there is a scabby, scurfy mark of a black color; his beard, too, has the scall to such an extent that it is thin and slight. The patient's eyes are swollen and inflamed to a violent red, and the lids, already deprived of lashes, are enlarged and corrugated so that he is able to see only through narrow slits between them. His eyes, as Chaucer says, are "narwe." No wonder that children are afraid of his "visage"! And if one might interpret, in the light of the foregoing material, the "stif burdoun" which he bears to the Pardoner's little love song (*C.T.*, A, 673) and his crying out as if he were mad after a drink of blood-red wine, his voice has possibly that rough and husky quality spoken of by the medical men as an infallible sign of a leper.

Chaucer has indicated, moreover, the two principal causes of the disease: the Summoner is "lecherous as a sparwe," and is accustomed to the eating of onions, garlic, and leeks and to the drinking of strong wine red as blood. The rascal is either criminally ignorant or foolishly indifferent; he might have learned from any physician of his time, or before, that lepra may be contracted by illicit association with women affected by it,<sup>3</sup> that garlic, onions, and leeks produce evil humors in the blood, and that red wine, of

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, f. ccxl, vi.

<sup>2</sup> It is interesting to note that the physiognomists also associate this sign with leprosy: "Supercilia plane depilia, Luem Venereum Leprem, vel allam sanguinis corruptionem indicant." Rudolphus Goclenius, *Physiognomica et Chiromantica Specialia*, Hamburgi, 1661, p. 60; cf. Samuelis Fvchsalii Cvalino Pomerani, *Metoposcopia & Ophthalmoscopia*, Argentenae, 1615, p. 91.

<sup>3</sup> For example see Gaddeaden's chapter "De infectione ex coitu leprosi," *op. cit.*, car. 61, r. 2. Lepra and syphilis are possibly confused.

all others, is the most powerful and heating of drinks. Bartholomaeus, for example, in his discussion of leprosy says:

Also it commeth of fleshlye lyking, by a woman soone after that a leprous man hath laye by her. . . . And sometime it cometh of too hot meates, as long use of strong pepper, and of garlike, and of such other. And sometime of corrupt meates, and of meates that be soone corrupt, as of meselyd Hogges, of flesh that haue peeces therein, and is infected with such poison and greines. And of uncleane wine and corrupt.<sup>1</sup>

He might have found by consulting the *Isogoge* of Joannitius that

Certain kinds of vegetables produce evil humours; for instance, nasturtium, mustard, and garlic beget reddish bile. Lentils, cabbage, and the meat of old goats or beeves produce black bile.<sup>2</sup>

Paulus might have informed him that

The onion, garlic, leek and dog-leek . . . . , being of an acrid nature, warm the body, attenuate and cut the thick humors contained in it; when twice boiled, they give little nourishment, and when unboiled they do not nourish at all. The garlic is more deobstruent and diaphoretic than the others. . . . Regarding pot-herbs in general, the raw, when eaten, furnish worse juices than the boiled, as they have more excrementitious juice.<sup>3</sup>

Boorde further adds that "Onyons doth prouoke a man to veneryous actes and to sompnolence,"<sup>4</sup> and pronounces a particular warning: "He that is infectyd wyth any of the .IIII. kynds of the lepered must refrayne from al maner of wynes, & from new drynkes, and stronge ale; then let hym beware of ryot and surfetynge."<sup>5</sup> For, as Bartholomaeus puts it, "Red wine that is full redde as bloud is most strong, and grieueth much the head, and noith the wit, and maketh strong dronkennesse,"<sup>6</sup> or according to Paulus, "Wine in general is nutritious but that which is red and thick is more particularly so; but its juices are not good."<sup>7</sup> The Summoner, however, has either not read or has treated with contempt the medical authorities; having once contracted the disease by riotous and lascivious living and by the immoderate use of unwholesome meats and wines, he further aggravates it by the same foolhardy practices.

<sup>1</sup> *Batman vpon Bartholome*, p. 113b.

<sup>2</sup> The *Isogoge*, by Joannitius (Arabic, Hunain), trans. Cholmeley, *op. cit.*, App. D, p. 145.

<sup>3</sup> Adams, *Seven Books*, I, 117, 118.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 279, 351. Cf. *The Babees Book*, ed. Furnivall, pp. 156, 214.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 239.

<sup>6</sup> *Batman vpon Bartholome*, p. 330.

<sup>7</sup> Adams, *op. cit.*, I, 172, 174.

Finally, it must be observed that Chaucer has apparently lifted the remedies, which he suggests have already been used in this case without effect, directly from the medical books.

Ther nas quik-silver, litarge, ne brimstoon,  
Boras, ceruce, ne oille of tartre noon,  
Ne oynement that wolde clense and byte,  
That him mighte helpen of his whelkes whyte.

Lanfrank's prescription for the cure of *gutta rosacea* includes "litar-giri, auripigmenti, sulphuris viui, viridis eris . . . . oleum tartarium . . . . argenty viui,"<sup>1</sup> and Guy de Chauliac would treat the same disease with "aigre de citron, ceruse, argent vif, borax, soulphe et alun, avec huil de tartre."<sup>2</sup> For the more violent cases of skin disorders and for leprosy, Guy recommends the careful and judicious use of "le medicament corrosif" or perhaps of "le medicament caustique"<sup>3</sup>—to which Chaucer clearly refers when he speaks of "oynement that wolde clense and byte."

From the material presented in this paper it appears that Chaucer's knowledge of medicine was more thorough and accurate than was once supposed.<sup>4</sup> Indeed we may safely conclude, it seems to me, that, since he mentions them more or less familiarly, he was intimately acquainted with the works—at least with those parts relating to lepra—of Gilbertus Anglicus, Ioannes de Gaddesden, Constantinus Africanus, Bernardus de Gordon, and Arnoldus de Villanova, and perhaps with the writings of Bartholomaeus Anglicus and Lanfrank. But what interests me especially is his scientific method of employing medical material, this time, for the construction of character. I have elsewhere shown the practical working of the method in several cases: the Pardoner<sup>5</sup> together with the Reve and the Miller<sup>6</sup> are created, both body and mind, according to certain

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 190, and notes.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 459.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 631, 633. Cf. Lanfrank's "Of medicyns cauteratiuis & corrosiuis," *op. cit.*, pp. 349 ff. The chief ingredient of these ointments is arsenic. Chaucer is to be highly commended for his wisdom in ignoring the empirical remedy composed largely of an adder, which most of the medical men employ. See Lanfrank, p. 198.

<sup>4</sup> See Lounsbury, *Studies in Chaucer*, II, 392. But cf. Lowes, *Mod. Philol.*, XI, 391 ff.; Emerson, *ibid.*, XVII, 287; Cook, *Trans. Conn. Arts and Sciences*, XXIII, 27, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXXIII, 379; Curry, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXXVI, 274.

<sup>5</sup> "The Secret of Chaucer's Pardoner," *Jour. Eng. and Germ. Philol.*, XVIII, 593 ff.

<sup>6</sup> "Chaucer's Reeve and Miller," *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XXXV, 189 ff.

rules and regulations laid down in the "science" of natural physiognomy; and the Wife of Bath<sup>1</sup> is a living embodiment, both in person and character, of rigid laws of natural astrology and celestial physiognomy. In the Summoner's case, Chaucer the scientist has first created, according to the best medical authority of his time, a perfect figure representing that type of leprosy called alopecia, and Chaucer the poet has breathed into it the breath of life.

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<sup>1</sup> "More about Chaucer's Wife of Bath," *P.M.L.A.*, XXXVI.

## SPENSER IN IRELAND

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### I. INTRODUCTORY

Most of the biographers of Spenser have utilized mainly the biographical material in the poet's own writings. This is quite right and natural, as this sort of material in itself is of more interest and profit for the study of a great poet than is any other and extraneous material. Sélincourt in the short life prefixed to his one-volume Oxford edition of Spenser has utilized this material with great skill, and one agrees with him that much of Spenser's verse is highly autobiographical and abounds in self-revelation, however guarded and veiled. But a fascination in the case of Spenser attaches to the strange contrast in his nature between Spenser the idealist and the man of poetic sensibility, and Spenser the man of affairs and servant of the state.<sup>1</sup> By reason of this contrast it is even more interesting to study the career of Spenser as an office-holder than it is to study that of Chaucer.

For the study of this career we have certain records and data, although for less than we would wish, and recent important discoveries<sup>2</sup> lead to the hope that others may yet follow. The Irish records especially have been very imperfectly searched, and the better part of Spenser's active life was connected with Ireland. Moreover such records as have been calendared or noticed have been very slightly studied and interpreted. It is true that, like many other data in Spenser's biography, they abound in difficulties. All the more reason therefore why attention should be directed to them and discussion of them invited. For it is only by the method of trial and error that the way can be prepared for the as yet unwritten life of Spenser in Ireland. Accordingly what is here submitted is rather in the nature of notes and queries than of definite thesis.

<sup>1</sup> Shall we say (for a comprehensive category) therefore a typical Elizabethan and man of the Renaissance?

<sup>2</sup> Notably that in regard to Spenser's secretaryship to the Bishop of Rochester in 1578.

## II. EDMUND SPENSER "PREBENDARY OF EFFIN"

Duly indexed under the name of Edmund Spenser in the *Calendars of State Papers Relating to Ireland, 1586-1588* (London, 1877), at page 222 under date of December 5, 1586, appears the following entry: "Collection of the arrearages of first fruits. These contain the names of many of the clergy of the time, amongst others . . . . Edmondus Spenser, prebendary of Effin." The passage in the original at the Public Record Office, London, reads as follows:<sup>1</sup>

No. 18. A Booke of the proceedings agaistne the clergy of Ireland vpon certen informacions in the eschequer there. P. 698. Brevis collectio quorundum arreragiorum primorum fructuum . . . . debit ex deversis Dignitat ac promocionibus spiritualibus infrascript. . . . P. 716. Limericen. Edmondus Spencer preb. de Effin ijli.

So far as I know this entry has not been mentioned by any of the writers upon Spenser since its appearance in 1877. It is true that it at once suggests difficulties. Spenser the poet is not otherwise known to have held clerical office; it is altogether improbable that he was ever ordained;<sup>2</sup> and at first sight it seems strange that his name should be associated with the obscure parish of Effin in 1586. Nevertheless I think that there is considerable probability that we are here dealing with Edmund Spenser the poet, and that we have here a new fact in Spenser's life.

In the first place, no evidence has ever been adduced of the presence of another Edmund Spenser in Ireland at this period. The burden of proof is therefore on those who would deny the face of the record and its application to the poet. How then are we to account for Spenser's holding the office of a prebend, and at Effin, and in 1586?

Spenser was doubtless a layman, but if by exception and for special reasons a layman were to be admitted to clerical office, no one in his time was better qualified to be so admitted than Spenser. He was a master of arts of Cambridge and as such had doubtless

<sup>1</sup> Transcript supplied by Mr. Henry R. Plomer.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *View of Ireland* (Globe ed. of Spenser, p. 645): "*Irenaeus*: Little have I to say of religion . . . myself have not beeene much conversante in that calling." We are probably safe in applying the statement to Spenser. *Irenaeus* is pretty consistently his mouthpiece. Cf. p. 679: "For religion little have I to saye, myself being (as I sayd) not professed therin."

received a large measure of religious training.<sup>1</sup> During his college years and those immediately following he was deeply interested in church affairs and in matters of ecclesiastical polity—an interest which is reflected at large in the *Shepherds' Calendar* of 1579.<sup>2</sup> Later in *Mother Hubberd's Tale* and in others of his writings<sup>3</sup> the same preoccupation appears. In 1578 he was secretary to the Bishop of Rochester, a position which must have kept him in daily contact and concern with persons and matters of the church. A few years later (March, 1581) while still secretary to Lord Grey in Ireland he was appointed registrar or clerk in Chancery for Faculties,<sup>4</sup> an office whose duties were concerned with the registration of "faculties" or special ecclesiastical licenses issued by the Archbishop of Dublin or other properly constituted authorities, and therefore involving close association with people and affairs of the church.

Now another point which is clear is that during the greater part of the reign of Elizabeth certain benefices, and especially prebends, were held by laymen.<sup>5</sup> In the case of *Bland v. Maddox*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. H. W. Cripps, *A Practical Treatise on the Laws of the Church and the Clergy*, London, 1845, p. 11: "No bishop shall admit any person to sacred orders except he hath taken some degree of school in either of the two universities." Thus far Spenser seems to have qualified.

<sup>2</sup> J. J. Higginson, *Spenser's Shepherds' Calendar in Relation to Contemporary Affairs*, New York, 1913, *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> C. H. Whitman, *Subject-Index to the Poems of Edmund Spenser*, New Haven, 1918. See references at pp. 52-53 for passages showing Spenser's familiarity with church affairs.

<sup>4</sup> *Calendar of Fians, Elizabeth* (Reports of the Deputy Keeper, Dublin, 1896 ff.), No. 3694. Cf. Harleian MSS 4107; *Liber Munerum Publicorum Hiberniae*, Part II, p. 29 (gives the date, probably by error or following Old Style, as March 22, 1580).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *New English Dictionary*. "Prebendary": "In some chapters of the Old Foundation the name *prebendary* (with a territorial addition) is retained for the titular holder of a disendowed prebend." Perhaps not applicable in this case. Eiffin was probably not disendowed and Spenser's appointment to the prebend there was perhaps of the nature of a sinecure. Cf. W. H. Frere, *The English Church in the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I*, London, 1904, p. 193: Grindal's reforms in ecclesiastical law (1576) still permitted dispensations "for laymen to hold some benefices without cure of souls," and "for clergy to be non-resident." These regulations were sent to Ireland "for the guidance of the Master of Faculties there."

Cf. E. L. Cutts, *Parish Priests and Their People*, London, 1898, p. 350: "A prebend was sometimes a manor, more frequently a rectory, rarely a sum of money, which formed an endowment for a canon." Cf. H. W. Cripps, *A Practical Treatise of the Laws of the Church and the Clergy*, London, 1845, p. 120 (on prebends). The act of 31 Eliz. against Abuses in . . . Presentation to Benefices was not passed until 1588. Cf. E. Gibson, *Codez juris Ecclesiastici Anglicani*, London, 1713, p. 198. Cf. Richard Burn, *The Ecclesiastical Law*, 9th edition, ed. R. Phillimore, London, 1842, II, 87-92, on "Prebends and Prebendaries": "A prebend is an endowment in land or pension in money given to a cathedral . . . for a maintenance of a secular priest or regular canon. Formerly a

in the time of Elizabeth the Court ruled that a layman might take title to a prebend (reference to Burn's *The Ecclesiastical Law*, below), and the practice was far from uncommon. It is true that *Mother Hubberd's Tale* (ll. 414 ff.) sharply satirizes unqualified and incompetent aspirants after clerical benefices:

How manie honest men see ye arize  
Daylie thereby, and grow to goodly prize;  
To Deanes, to Archdeacons; to Commissaries,  
To Lords, to Principalls, to Prebendaries?

But would Spenser, although a layman, be regarded as unqualified in the opinion of his time and in his own opinion?

Moreover in Spenser's day there were special circumstances which might seem to justify such tenures. The state of the lower clergy in Ireland was deplorable and evidently the English governors were hard put to it to supply, and that rarely, decent incumbents. Spenser's own testimony is very much to the point and may be held to bear indirectly upon such cases as the appointment of the prebendary of Effin. In the *View of Ireland*<sup>1</sup> Irenaeus says:

What ever disorder you see in the Church of England ye may find there [in Ireland], and many more . . . . for all the Irish priestes which nowe enjoye the churche livinges there, are in a manner meere laymen. They neither reade scriptures, nor preache to the people, nor minister the sacrament of the communion. . . . There is a statute there enacted in Ireland, which seemes to have bene grounded upon a good meaning—that whatsoever Englishman, being of good conversation and sufficiency, shal be brought unto any of the bishoppes, and nominated into any living within theyr dioces that is presently voyde that he shall (without contradiction) be admitted therunto before any Irish. . . . There are noe such sufficient English ministers sent over as might be presented to any bishopp for any living, but the most parte of such English as come over thither of themselves are either unlearned, or men of some badd note, for which they have forsaken England.

layman . . . . might have taken title to a prebend." Cf. p. 275 on "First Fruits." Cf. Dixon, *History of the Church of England*, II, 336, 504.

A letter of Mr. J. C. Ayer, of Philadelphia, learned in the canon law, kindly communicated by the Rev. Henry B. Washburn, dean of the Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Massachusetts, reviews the practice in England and abroad and cites the case of Calvin "who had a prebend when he went to Paris to study and later received a second. The law of England was the same as everywhere in such matters."

<sup>1</sup> Globe ed. of Spenser, pp. 646-47. Cf. W. D. Killen, *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, London, 1875, I, 466-69.

Possibly a passage which follows reflects Spenser's own experience:

And yf he [the Bishop] shall at the instance of any Englishman of countenance there, whom he will not displease, accept of any such minister as shal be tendred unto him, yet he will underhand carrie such a hard hande over him, or by his officers wringe him so sore, as he will soone make him wearey of his poore living [and see the rest of the passage for its possible autobiographical bearing].

Did Spenser although a layman try to administer some of the duties of the office of the prebendary of Effin? We do not know. It is likely enough that he was non-resident and had received the position as a mere sinecure and so regarded it, even finding its revenues so small that he was forced to default in the payment of first fruits,<sup>1</sup> as at other times he defaulted in the payment of rents. On the other hand, it is possible that as a sufficient and learned layman he attempted to administer such offices as he might to the poor parishioners of Effin. Effin is a small parish near Kilmallock in County Limerick and less than twenty miles north from Kilcolman (Doneraile). A prebendary attached to the chapter of Limerick had been located there from ancient times.<sup>2</sup>

We do not know enough about Spenser's life in 1585-86 to pronounce whether he may have been resident at Effin, at least for part of the time, during that period. His interests and duties during the first decade of his Irish sojourn were taking him to various parts of the island—Dublin, Limerick, Cork, New Abbey, Enniscorthy, and many other places—and it is possible that Effin was one of his temporary abiding-places, whence in 1586 he flitted to Kilcolman, the estate which was probably assured him in that year as one of the

<sup>1</sup> First fruits were due "before any actual or real possession . . . of his benefice" (*Burn, Eccles. Law*, II, 276. Cf. Cripps, *Laws Rel. to the Church*, p. 365). We may therefore conjecture that Spenser's appointment as prebendary of Effin did not long precede December 5, 1586.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Liber Munerum*, Part V, pp. 94, 207. Cf. P. Fitzgerald and J. J. McGregor, *History, Topography and Antiquities of the County and City of Limerick*, Dublin, 1826-27. I, 391: "Effin, west of Ballingaddy, is a rectory and vicarage in the diocese of Limerick, and contains 1052 acres." Cf. William W. Seward, *Topographic Hibernica*, Dublin, 1795. Appendix, p. 21, under "Dioecesis Limericensis" ("Taxatio & Extenta . . . 2 Oct. 5 mo. Car. I . . . Praeb. de Effyn 31.0.0"). Cf. Samuel Lewis, *Topographical Dictionary of Ireland*, London, 1837, I, 596: "Effin a parish in co. Limerick near Kilmallock." "It is a rectory and vicarage in the diocese of Limerick, constituting the corps of the prebend of Effin in the cathedral of Limerick." cf. *Calendar, Ireland*, 1600, p. 242.

participants in the project of the Munster undertakers.<sup>1</sup> But the circumstances of Spenser's tenure of the prebend of Effin probably must remain a matter of conjecture.

### III. EDMUND SPENSER "OF NEW ABBEY"

Most of the details of Spenser's life in Ireland remain obscure. A few salient facts in regard to him are to be found in the public records. From these we have points of departure and a certain amount of orientation. But the rest is matter of conjecture and inference, helped in only small measure by reference to places and persons in his own writings, especially the *View of Ireland* and the *Faerie Queene*.

The period from September, 1582, when Lord Grey returned to England and Spenser's secretaryship ceased, until 1588 when we are pretty sure that he was in possession of Kilcolman, is especially obscure. What were Spenser's occupations, other than poetry-making, and where did he reside, during this time? What was his means of livelihood,<sup>2</sup> and who were his patrons and associates?

Doubtless through Grey's patronage he had been assisted to various good things before the former's return to England. The clerkship of the Chancery for Faculties he probably held till 1588.<sup>3</sup> Profit doubtless came from the lease of Enniscorthy in 1582 and its conveyance by Spenser to Richard Synot, and from other similar transactions. Such a transaction may have been the lease for six years of the Dublin residence of the rebel Viscount Baltinglas (James Eustace) to Spenser in 1582. This lease usually has been cited as proof of Spenser's residence in Dublin 1582-88. But we do not know that he even occupied the premises; the town residence of a nobleman was probably too expensive an establishment to be maintained by one in the poet's circumstances, especially after the loss of his secretaryship, and it is more likely that the lease was soon

<sup>1</sup> Or it may be that he was resident at Kilcolman as early as the winter of 1585-86 and thence made occasional trips to Effin (a place within easy riding distance).

<sup>2</sup> The pension did not come till 1590.

<sup>3</sup> Appointed at Grey's instance? ("Given free from the Seale in respect he ys Secretarie to the right honorable the Lord Deputie.") But whether he exercised the office in person ("a deputy allowed") and what were its fees in net yearly revenue to him we do not know.

disposed of at a profit.<sup>1</sup> Spenser was probably in Dublin from time to time after 1582<sup>2</sup> and may have maintained a residence there, but there is no sure proof of this.

But there is one inference from the records which has been briefly noticed by the authors of the life of the poet in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (p. 797) and which deserves more prominent treatment in the future biography of Spenser. In 1583-84, probably from the latter part of 1582 also, and possibly for some time after 1584, Spenser was principally resident at New Abbey, county Kildare. The lease of this estate, "with an old waste town adjoining, and its appurtenances," he received August 24, 1582.<sup>3</sup> This was another of the forfeited estates of James Eustace, Viscount Baltinglas.<sup>4</sup> The lease was for twenty-one years, and the rent three pounds. There is no record when Spenser disposed of this lease, if at all during his lifetime, but the fact of his residence is pretty well established by two references to Edmund Spenser as "of New Abbey," in 1583 and 1584, further corroborated by the fact of his appointment May 12, 1583, and July 4, 1584, as one of the commissioners of musters in county Kildare.<sup>5</sup> We have many studies of Spenser's later residence, Kilcolman, but we lack information as to this earlier residence of New Abbey, although Falkiner<sup>6</sup> tells us that it was on the river Liffey (the Liffey of *Faerie Queene*, IV, xi, 41), and within riding distance of Dublin.

<sup>1</sup> There is no record of its conveyance by Spenser, but the extant Irish records are notoriously defective.

<sup>2</sup> The sonnet to Harvey is dated from Dublin, July 18, 1586.

<sup>3</sup> *Calendar of Fians, Elizabeth*, No. 3969. In 1582 also Spenser received a "custom-dam" of Eustace's land of the Newland (*Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1574-1585*, p. 345).

<sup>4</sup> The formal attainder of Eustace was not passed until 1585. Apparently his estates were seized and distributed soon after his flight to Spain in 1581. Grosart (ed. of Spenser, I, 147) states that this lease was forfeited for non-payment of rent for seven years and a half. I have not been able to verify this statement. If Spenser held on to it for seven and one-half years its termination would date in 1590.

<sup>5</sup> *Calendar of Fians, Elizabeth*, Nos. 4150, 4464. Notice that in most of these references to the poet in Ireland he is spoken of as Edmund Spenser, "gentleman," a descriptive epithet never attached to his name before his Irish residence. Here he was one of the gentry, a dignity enhanced a little later by his receipt of the "seignory" of Kilcolman. Cf. James F. Ferguson in *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1855, II, 605-9: That the lease of New Abbey was forfeited August 24, 1582. But this was the date of the lease, cf. *Calendar of Fians*, No. 3969.

<sup>6</sup> *Essays relating to Ireland*, London, 1909, p. 14. Cf. Samuel Lewis, *Topographical Dictionary of Ireland*, London, 1837, II, 84: "Some remains of the buildings of New Abbey, on the banks of the Liffey, are still to be seen."

## IV. SPENSER "CLERK OF DECREES AND RECOGNIZANCES"

That Spenser held the office of Clerk of Decrees and Recognizances in Ireland is a statement which goes back to Hardiman<sup>1</sup> and which seems to have been repeated by most of Spenser's biographers since,<sup>2</sup> solely on Hardiman's authority and without further examination and verification. There may exist original evidence for this statement, although I have not been able to trace it in the printed sources accessible to me. Hardiman's brief footnote life of Spenser merely puts forth the general claim of being based on "original documents." No specific citation of record is given for this statement. It therefore remains to be proved. Grosart<sup>3</sup> in substantiation refers to "Liber Hiberniae." But the *Liber Munerum Publicorum Hiberniae* ("By Cominand, 1824"), if this be Grosart's reference, as I take it to be, so far as I can discover does not bear out the statement. The list of "Principal Registers and Clerks of the Acts and Recognizances" (for ecclesiastical causes)<sup>4</sup> does not contain Spenser's name. The list of "Clerks of the Decrees and Recognizances"<sup>5</sup> gives the incumbents only from 1605, and naturally Spenser's name does not appear. The inference is that the office was not instituted before 1605.<sup>6</sup> Hardiman, after stating that Grey was sworn as Lord Deputy, September 7, 1580, goes on to say: "On the 22nd of March following, Spenser was appointed clerk of the decrees and recognizances of chancery, and his patent was given 'free from the seal in respect he is secretary to the Right Honorable the Lord D.,'" and that he was succeeded in this office June 22, 1588, by Arland Ussher. Now it is a suspicious fact that Spenser was granted the office of "registrar or clerk in Chancery for faculties" March 22, 1581, that the phrase "given free from the Seale in respect he ys Secretarie to the right honorable the Lord Deputie" does appear in this grant,<sup>7</sup> and that he was succeeded in this office June 22, 1588, by Arland Ussher.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Irish Minstrelsy*, London, 1831, I, 319 (note) ff.

<sup>2</sup> Collier, Grosart, *Dictionary of National Biography*, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Grosart's ed. of Spenser, I, 150.

<sup>4</sup> *Liber Munerum*, Part II, p. 182.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Part II, pp. 28-29.

<sup>6</sup> Wood, *Guide to the Records in the Public Record Office, Ireland*, p. 28, so states.

<sup>7</sup> *Calendar of Fians*, Elizabeth, No. 3694 (in Reports of the Deputy Keeper, Dublin, 1869 ff.). Cf. also Harleian MS 4107.

<sup>8</sup> *Liber Munerum*, Part II, p. 29.

Hardiman and Grosart (if indeed Grosart closely inspected the "Liber Hiberniae") apparently have simply confused the several offices of clerk of the Chancery for Faculties, of clerk of the acts and recognizances, and of clerk of decrees and recognizances. Until further evidence is adduced the statement that Spenser was clerk of decrees and recognizances rests, therefore, on the unsupported "authority" of Hardiman.

#### V. SPENSER "CLERK IN CHANCERY FOR FACULTIES"

That Edmund Spenser, "gent., secretary of the deputy" received the grant of the office of "registrar or clerk in Chancery, for faculties under the statute 28 Hen. VIII, to hold during good behaviour, with the fees belonging to the office," March 22, 1580-81, is definitely established.<sup>1</sup> The entry of the same appointment in Harleian MS 4107 is in nearly the same terms, but with a significant addition: "Edmunde Spencer, Register or Clerke in the Chauncerie of the faculties within the kingdome of Ireland quam diu se bene gesserit, a depu[ty] all[owed], canc. 22 die Marcii 23 Eliz." We also know that Spenser was succeeded in this office by Arland Ussher, Gent.,<sup>2</sup> under patent of June 22, 1588,<sup>3</sup> at the time when Spenser is supposed to have taken over from Bryskett the office of acting clerk of the Council of Munster.

These documents suggest an explanation and a query or two. The statute referred to is rather long, a bit involved, and not easy to apply in all respects to the case of Spenser.<sup>4</sup> It recites most of the provisions of the corresponding English act and concludes by declaring that this act shall extend not only to England but to the King's other dominions, including Ireland. "Faculties" are special licenses or permits (e.g., for the removal of a grave) issued by ecclesiastical authority under the ecclesiastical law.<sup>5</sup> The act provides

<sup>1</sup> Several, that is, so far as they are treated in the *Liber Munerum*.

<sup>2</sup> *Calendar of Fians, Elisabeth*, No. 3694. Cf. *Liber Munerum*, Part II, p. 29. "Lewis" Bryskett, "Clerk of the P. Council" was the first incumbent of this office by patent of April 11, 1577.

<sup>3</sup> Father of the future archbishop who claimed friendship with Spenser.

<sup>4</sup> *Liber Munerum*, Part II, p. 29.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *The Statutes at Large passed in the Parliaments held in Ireland. . . . Published by Authority*, Dublin, 1786, chap. xix, pp. 142 ff. "The Act of Faculties." Cf. *Liber Munerum*, Part VI, pp. 7 ff., for a digest of the act. Cf. C. L. Falkiner, *Essays Relating to Ireland*, London, 1909, p. 13, n.

<sup>6</sup> On "Faculties" see *Encyclopedia of the Laws of England*, London, 1907, VI, 1-2; also *The Laws of England*, by the Earl of Halsbury, London, 1910, XI, 540.

for their issuance by the archbishop or his deputies subject to the approval of the Crown. The archbishop is empowered to ordain a clerk to write and register all licenses. The Crown also is to ordain "one sufficient clerke, being learned in the course of chancery" to enrol all confirmations of such licenses. Both clerks shall sign and register all licenses, and keep proper books. The provisions as to fees are very complicated. It seems impossible from them to arrive at any estimate of what Spenser's revenues from this source may have been. The entry above from the Harleian MSS ("a deputy allowed") suggests that this office may have been granted to Spenser as a sinecure and that he never performed its functions in person but merely by a deputy. In which case a deal of reconstruction in the surmises as to his occupations in Ireland 1582-88 would be necessitated! At least it seems a fair question whether the secretary of the lord deputy could find time, from March, 1581, to September, 1582, to perform the duties of clerk of the faculties.

Were there two clerks in Ireland, one for the archbishop and one for the Crown? If so which of the clerkships did Spenser hold? Does the abbreviated word "canc." in the document cited above together with the phrase "in chancery" indicate an appointment from the Lord Chancellor? And so may Spenser's appointment have come from Adam Loftus, archbishop of Dublin and lord chancellor of Ireland (1581-1605)? Or was he appointed by the Crown through the Lord Deputy Grey?

But still another problem now appears. And that is found in the record<sup>1</sup> of a patent of March 14, 1582, to Roland Cowyk, "being now aged," to this effect:

That he shall have and enjoy the same several offices in that our realm of Ireland [i.e. as exist in England, viz. "Clerk of our Chancery . . . for . . . matters and causes of Faculties"; also "our sole Register for all manner of Appeals Ecclesiastical made to us into our Chancery"], and be our Clerk of our Chancery there for the Faculties, and our sole Register for all manner of Appeals Ecclesiastical . . . in as ample manner as either our officers do use and exercise those severall offices here in England . . . and also the office of our Register of our late and new created Prerogative Court Ecclesiastical in Ireland.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Liber Munerum*, Part II, p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> Established March 1, 1580.

Cowyk is not described as "sole" clerk for faculties. Did he act in this office as Spenser's deputy? Probably not. Else why the separate patent from the Crown? Or was he the clerk appointed by the Crown ("our Clerk") while Spenser, or Spenser's deputy, was the archbishop's clerk for faculties?<sup>1</sup>

At any rate from the terms of the act it does not appear that Spenser was clerk of a court in the modern sense, where cases were tried or decided. Whichever of the clerkships he held his duties would merely be either the writing and registering of "faculties" (special ecclesiastical licenses) or the registration of their confirmation by the Crown.<sup>2</sup>

#### VI. SPENSER'S "REWARDS" AS SECRETARY TO GREY

Grosart's *Life of Spenser*<sup>3</sup> recites the "entry of £162 [=£1600 today at least] assigned to Spenser for 'rewards' paid by him as Secretary." In the article on Spenser in the *Dictionary of National Biography* this statement is transformed<sup>4</sup> and appears as: "He was well paid for his services, and in 1582 received for 'rewards' as secretary 162l."

<sup>1</sup> The language of the patent suggests the appointment of Cowyk as clerk for the Crown. But see the letter of Loftus to Burghley, May 22, 1587 (*Calendar, Ireland, 1586-88*, p. 359), on the recent death of Cowyk, where the latter is described as Loftus' "registrar" for many years. The probability is that Spenser was appointed by Grey for the Crown. Possibly Cowyk immediately succeeded him as sole registrar for faculties in Ireland.

<sup>2</sup> *Liber Munorum*, Part III, p. 9, refers to Cottonian MSS, Titus B, XII, No. 89, "A paper concerning the instructions for passing faculties in Ireland." I have not had the opportunity of inspecting this MS. It may be of importance.

<sup>3</sup> In his edition of Spenser, I, [147]. Cites as authority the "Book of Concordatums." As this goes to press a report is received from Mr. Henry R. Plomer of his finding an additional passage concerning the payment of sums to Spenser for rewards to messengers in the "Book of Concordatums," which is probably the one referred to by Grosart. It is in *State Papers (London), Ireland, Elizabeth*, Vol. 92, p. 20 (1), and reads as follows: "Edmond Spencer for Rewards by him payd to messengers at sundrie times viz.:

ultimo Septembris 1580	by concordatum	£ 12. 15.
xij Decembris 1580	p	" 18. 16. 10
xxvij March 1581	"	39. 3. 8
x Iune 1581	"	47. 2. 8
ix Nov <sup>r</sup> 1581	"	42. 19. 2

In all £160. 17. 4."

The previous citation, above, therefore, appears to be that of an as yet unnoticed document in relation to Spenser.

"At least no other authority than Grosart is apparent *ad loc.* Grosart's citation is incomplete and easily subject to misinterpretation. *The Dictionary of National Biography* statement, through lack of verification, is completely wrong.

The original records in the Public Record Office, London,<sup>1</sup> give entries of "suche Concordat as is alredie paid by Sr. Henry Wallopp, knight Treasurer at warres there" to "Edmond Spencer for rewards to messengers," in the total sum £430. 10. 2d. How Grosart arrived at the sum of £162 I do not know. But the plain inference is that these sums were not for Spenser's personal use but were for the payment of messengers or bearers of official dispatches through him as secretary of the Lord Deputy.

An entry which follows (p. 32, verso), however, is of another sort: "necessaries for secretaries and clerks attending the Lo: Deputy & counsail viz. to Edmond Spencer ultimo Decr 1580 Xli et 26 Iunij 1581 Xli = XXli yr [£20 a year]." This apparently was the amount of Spenser's yearly salary as secretary to Grey. The sum was doubtless augmented by various perquisites. And the entry indicates that Spenser's position was that of official secretary to the Governor and Council and not that merely of Grey's personal secretary.

#### VII. SPENSER'S IRISH TOPOGRAPHY

This is not a contribution but is a call for help. A great deal has been written about the Irish place-names in Spenser's poetry;<sup>2</sup> Kilcolman has been described very prettily,<sup>3</sup> but otherwise little has been made of Irish topography in elucidation of Spenser's biography. New Abbey, where apparently Spenser had residence for several years, has not been studied, the various localities mentioned in leases

<sup>1</sup> Transcript by Mr. Henry R. Plomer from *State Papers, Ireland, Elizabeth*, Vol. 97, pp. 22-33, at p. 32, under dates of ult. Sept. 1580, 12 Dec. 1580, 28 Mar. 1581, 10 July 1581, 9 Nov. 1581, 10 Feb. 1581 [1582], 12 Apr. 1582, 24 June 1582, and 24 Aug. 1582. Mr. Plomer was put to some trouble in locating Grosart's rather vague reference.

<sup>2</sup> The place-names in the poetry are indexed in Whitman's *Subject Index to the Poems of Edmund Spenser*, New Haven, 1918. See also *Dublin University Magazine*, XXII (1843), 583 ff.; LVIII (1861), 131 ff.; *Edinburgh Review*, CCI (1905), 164 ff.; *Gentleman's Magazine*, LXX (1800), ii, 1127; LXXXVIII (1818), i, 224; Falkiner, *Essays Relating to Ireland*, London, 1909, pp. 3-31; Joyce, *Irish Names of Places*, Dublin, 1870; *Notes and Queries*, Ser. IV, Vol. IV (1869), pp. 169-70; Ser. IV, Vol. VII (1870), pp. 317-18; C. Moore in *Journal Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, X (1904), 31-33, 133-34; White, *Historical and Topographical Notes*, Cork, 1913, pp. 264-73; Hogan's *Description of Ireland, 1598*, Dublin, 1878, and the various early descriptions of Ireland there listed. See also Stanyhurst's *Description of Ireland*, in Holinshed. See Vallency, *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis*, Dublin, 1786-1804, III, No. xii.

<sup>3</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine*, LXXXVIII (1818), 577; Croker, *Researches in the South of Ireland*, London, 1824, pp. 108-10; Howitt, *Homes of the Poets*, London, 1847, pp. 13-39; W. A. Jones in *Journal Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, VII (1901), 238-42; and in various lives of Spenser.

and grants remain unexplained, and the numerous place-names arrayed, and that rather systematically, in the *View of Ireland* still call for annotation. Many of these latter places Spenser doubtless had visited. What part had they in his life and in his mental furniture?

Now it is apparent from a passage in the *View of Ireland*<sup>1</sup> that Spenser had before him a map of Ireland and depended upon it in part (as a good cartographer should), in outlining his recommendations for the garrisoning of Ireland. What map did he use? The printed maps<sup>2</sup> available to Spenser were:

1. *Hibernia sive Irlanda insula . . . . Venetiis, 1568.* In one sheet, 250×175 mm. Few names of places; little detail. Insufficient and probably not used. MS note in BM copy attributes this map to Zalterius and dates it 1560.

2. *Hibernia Insula . . . . 1565.* In corner "Venetiis Aeneis formis Bolognini Zalterii Anno. M.D. LXVI." One sheet, 332×242 mm. Like No. 1, but more names of places.

In the same volumes is

3. *Hybernia nunc Irlant* (Venice 1570). 342×257 mm. A copy of No. 2 enlarged.

4. *Eryth. Hiberniae Britannicae Insulae, nova descriptio. Irlandt . . . . In Addimentum theatri orbis terrarum Abrahamus Ortelius. Antwerpiae 1573.* 476×357 mm. Based upon Giraldus Cambrensis. Many place names, but often different in form from those recited by Spenser.

There is also

5. A MS map said to have been made by Laurence Nowell (d.1576) the antiquary, Dean of Lichfield, and brother of Alex Nowell. Lithographed and printed by the Ordnance Survey, c. 1861. Perhaps Spenser had a copy of this. It is much more detailed than the others.

6. In a valuable article on "Sixteenth Century Maps of Ireland"<sup>3</sup> R. Dunlop gives a descriptive catalogue of all such maps still extant in the British Museum, the Public Record Office, the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, and elsewhere, and calls attention to one in Trinity College, Dublin, as the best and fullest of all.<sup>4</sup> In the absence of evidence to the contrary may we not assume that this was the map to which Spenser refers?

<sup>1</sup> Globe ed. of Spenser, p. 652. Eudoxus uses the map for his guidance. Irenaeus (Spenser) perhaps has less need of it, and in relation to many places seems to speak from personal knowledge.

<sup>2</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat.* Further details furnished me by Mr. Henry R. Plomer.

<sup>3</sup> In the *English Historical Review*, XX (1905), 309-37.

<sup>4</sup> No. 1209, 83 (Abbott's *Cat. of MSS.* Trinity College, 1900), by Boazio, c. 1578-80: "The most authoritative map of Ireland we possess for the period."

Are there any other maps of Ireland dating before 1596 which Spenser may have used?

#### VIII. SPENSER'S FAMILY

Spenser's origin and the Lancashire question is still a matter of hot dispute. The evidence of the *Lismore Papers* (very imperfectly indexed) seems to settle the point that his wife was Elizabeth Boyle and that she was a kinswoman of Richard Boyle, with whom Spenser, according to the official records, came in contact at various points. That Sylvanus and Peregrine were his sons seems established. The evidence as to a third son Laurence and a daughter Catherine seems much vaguer and needs further investigation.<sup>1</sup> That he had a sister Sarah who kept house for him in Ireland before his marriage, who herself married a certain Travers and who received as a marriage portion from Spenser a part of the Kilcolman estate, is a matter of more moment in his life than the sentimental interest attaching to the posthumous fortunes of his children. The evidence as to this seems to rest on the authority of a "Pedigree of Spenser's Family" in the *Patrician*.<sup>2</sup> A verification of the evidence is indicated.

#### IX. SPENSER'S PATRONS AND ASSOCIATES IN IRELAND

Spenser's public career in Ireland inevitably brought him into touch with many men, especially with men in public station. Grey's influence was doubtless all powerful during the first two years (1580-82) of Spenser's sojourn in Ireland, and Grey was a consistent patron of men of letters and most of all of Spenser, his personal secretary and the most promising man of letters of his time. With this help and through the influence of his own attractive personality the new poet doubtless established many points of connection which were

<sup>1</sup> Sir William Betham, "Genealogical Table of Spenser's Descendants," *Gentleman's Magazine* (1842), ii, 140, "compiled by me from the records of Ireland." Cf. *Lismore Papers*, IV, 242-43. F. C. Spencer in *Gentleman's Magazine* (1842), ii, 138-43 (giving Betham's Table), is the authority chiefly followed by Craik, Collier, R. W. Church, Grosart, etc.

<sup>2</sup> *The Patrician*, V (London, 1848), 54-55. But cf. Betham, note 1 above; Keightley in *Fraser's Magazine*, LX (1859), 410 ff.; etc. The case for a younger brother "John" is more tenuous. Cf. *Dictionary of National Biography*, art. "Spenser," p. 793. John Spenser was at Merchant Taylor's School in 1571. But is there any proof that he was Spenser's brother? James Eustace, Viscount Baltinglas, to some of whose forfeited estates Spenser succeeded under lease, is stated to have married the daughter of Sir John Travers (*Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v.). Were the two Travers of the same family? Cf. Lewis, *Topographical Dictionary of Ireland*, I, 602: that Enniscorthy was given by Elizabeth to John Travers, who conveyed the estate to Spenser.

useful to him in his subsequent career. The influence of the Sidney family may have continued to count for something. The Norris family,<sup>1</sup> long years prominent among the governors of Ireland, may have helped. His frequent relations with Bryskett are apparent from the *Discourse* as well as from the public records. And there was a host of other officials, Cowyk, Arland Ussher and his promising young son, the future archbishop, Wallopp, Boyle, St. Leger, Justice Saxy, Archbishop Loftus, Bishop Lyon, Dawtrey, Dillon, Dormer, Geoffrey Fenton, Greenham, Langherne, the members of the Council of Munster, and many others, with whom he was thrown.<sup>2</sup> An attempt to reconstruct this society and to show the life of the times in Ireland in connection with Spenser would not be an impossible task and should be a highly interesting one. The *Calendars of State Papers* and other public documents would supply considerable material in relation to these men. The *Liber Munerum Publicorum Hiberniae* gives pretty complete lists of all officials in Ireland in Spenser's time.<sup>3</sup> The several articles in the *Dictionary of National Biography* with their accompanying references would afford an excellent starting-point. And there is much material of a miscellaneous nature. Assuredly much new light on Spenser's career may be expected from researches in this field.

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<sup>1</sup> Did this connection date from the time of the employment of "Edmonde Spencer" as bearer of dispatches from Sir Henry Norris in France in 1569?

<sup>2</sup> On Spenser's associates in Ireland cf. Bagwell, *Ireland under the Tudors*, III, 457-58.

<sup>3</sup> There is a list of Irish officials also in Harleian MS 4107, p. 56. See other material referred to in the *Liber Munerum*.



## REVIEWS AND NOTICES

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*The Captives; or, The Lost Recovered.* By THOMAS HEYWOOD.  
Edited with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary by ALEXANDER  
CORBIN JUDSON. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1921.  
Pp. 180.

In this edition Heywood's play—printed hitherto only in a limited edition by Bullen from Egerton MS 1994 in the year 1885—is made accessible to the general student. The editor's work has been done well. A careful reprint of the text has resulted in many corrections of Bullen's readings, and the peculiarities and problems of the manuscript are set forth in the introduction and notes. The annotation is very succinct but fairly adequate, and the discussion of sources is excellent. If the editor errs it is on the side of too great brevity. One would like to have, for instance, some information in regard to the actors whose names appear on the margin of the manuscript (see p. 11) and the probable date of the performance in which they took part.

In regard to one detail—the source of the subplot—the editor's omissions lead wrongly to the impression that English and American scholars have been quite ignorant as to the correct source, which was pointed out by Koeppel in 1896 (*Herrig's Archiv*, XCVII, 323–29). In summarizing previous discussions Judson does not include references to notes by Ward in his *History of English Dramatic Literature* and to a discussion by Taylor in Volume XV of *Modern Philology*, though the bibliography (p. 180) does cover these. Koeppel referred Heywood's subplot to the first story of Masuccio's *Novellino*. Kittredge, however, in 1898 (*Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, II, 13) gave as a source the English verse tale *Dan Hew* and pointed out closely related versions among the French *fabliaux*. Kittredge has been followed by Schelling (*Elizabethan Drama* [1908], I, 352, n. 2) and others. In 1899, Ward in the first volume of his *History of Dramatic Literature* (p. 338, n. 2) suggested the episode of the friars in the *Jew of Malta* as Heywood's source, but in the second volume (p. 568, n. 3) he gave the correct source, following Koeppel. On account, however, of an ambiguous pronoun and an incomplete reference to Koeppel's article, which he must have seen in a reprint, Ward's statement is not clear. In fact, later summarizing the matter in his chapter on Heywood in the *Cambridge History of English Literature* (VI, 116), Ward made the mistake of referring to Masuccio the main plot of *The Captives* (drawn from Plautus' *Rudens*) and accepted Kittredge's derivation of the subplot from *Dan Hew*. In 1917 Archer

Taylor, in a study of the group of stories to which *Dan Hew* and the Masuccio novella belong, showed the isolation of the *Dan Hew* version and the derivation of Heywood's versions from Masuccio, including his first one, a prose form in the *History of Women* (*Mod. Phil.*, XV, 243-44). But Taylor did not discuss *The Captives* in detail or give references to the articles of Koeppel and Kittredge. It thus remained after all for Judson in the present volume, following Koeppel, to give what seems to be the first adequate and convincing account in English of the relation of Heywood's play to Masuccio's story.

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*Angevin Britain and Scandinavia.* By HENRY GODDARD LEACH.

"Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature," Vol. VI. Cambridge, Mass.: 1921. Pp. xi+432.

This book is, as the preface states, both essay and monograph. It contains both compilation and research, and the proportion of the latter is likely to be underestimated by him who is not of the craft. Both the Northernist and the republic of letters generally may be grateful for it, since it brings together what has been far apart and in tongues inaccessible to the majority of scholars, and it gives much information that is new and valuable. The preface also pays a deserved tribute of affection and respect to the late William Henry Schofield, to whom the book is dedicated.

Many colorful pictures arise from these pages. We note with interest that the Angles, the dominant tribe among the emigrants, were assuredly of the Scandinavian unity; we smile at the grim picture of the Norseman Sigtrygg and his Irish wife watching from the towers of Dublin the defeat of the Northmen at the battle of Clontarf, and we wonder what would have happened to the English language if King Svend Estridsson or his sons had carried out their intention of making good against William the Conqueror their claim to the English throne. The second chapter, "Traders and Envoys," and the third, "Clergy," show us the manifold traffic between England and the Scandinavian countries, Norwegian kings and magnates merchandising with England, a Norwegian prelate sailing to Lynn in command of his own ship with a cargo of dried fish, and after accomplishing his ecclesiastical errand, sailing home with a lading of wheat and cloth and wine.

Especially interesting are the Norse-English relations in the reign of Hákon the Old (1217-63) and the years following, contemporary with Henry III of England (1216-72). The two kings were good friends. Great churchmen and scholars passed back and forth. Matthew Paris, who came to Norway to settle some monastic troubles, found that Hákon was "bene litteratus." His reign coincided with the zenith of Icelandic literature, and the literary men of that island sought his patronage and that of his suc-

cessors. The chapter on "Western Romance" shows this same Hákon as the patron of foreign learning. The medievalist without specific knowledge of Northern matters will be surprised to learn that in his reign and the time immediately after, up to 1290, fifty or more foreign romances were translated into Norwegian: Breton lays, stories of Charles the Great, of Alexander, a collection representative of monastic and chivalric culture. Hákon's sons were brought up like Norman knights, and the elder son translated *Barlaam and Josaphat* from Latin into Norwegian.

The author's investigations show that these romances "were the direct product of Hákon's friendship with England and the English. . . . In a few Norse translations there is definite internal evidence that the original was an Anglo-Norman or a Middle English work. In no instance does such evidence point to Continental French. Whenever a central French version exists, it shows a wide divergence from the Norwegian form. Whenever we have an Anglo-Norman version of the original, the Norse redaction follows it closely. Whenever the source is preserved in both Continental and English dialects, the Norse form in each case is more nearly related to the Anglo-Norman." The North Sea was thus no barrier between England and the Scandinavian lands, but rather a much fared road.

A special chapter is given to "Tristan in the North" and to the "Breton Lays," and on page 203 the student will find a definition of a Breton lay taken from medieval sources. Another chapter treats the Carolingian and Arthurian romances.

In the tenth chapter, "Eastern Romance," the author is on well-nigh virgin ground. He gives us here the most extensive account yet published of the *Lýgisögur*, the latest group of Icelandic romantic sagas, practically all of which are still unpublished. They have been neglected because they have almost no literary merit, but they are of interest to the student of comparative literature. Some seem to come from Russia, and many from the Orient, reflecting the Icelanders' "City of Dreams," Constantinople.

The eleventh chapter, "Epic Survivals," goes back of the Angevin period and discusses the Anglo-Danish traditions surviving from the time of migration: Beowulf, Offa, Widsith, here called a "Social Register of royal families," and the scanty specimens of Old English stanzaic verse. The next chapter discusses the viking themes planted later in England by the Danes and Norwegians: Ragnar Loðbrok, Siward Digri, Havelock, Horn, and the viking tales prefixed to *Tristan* and *Bevis of Hampton*. In the following chapter, on "Outlaw Legends," the story of Hereward is discussed.

The fourteenth chapter, "Ballads," suggests much research to be done. We have always accepted Denmark as the home of the Northern and of many of the English and Scottish ballads, simply because of the richness of Danish ballad store. Leach suggests that England may be the source of much of the Scandinavian balladry; that in the later thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries there may have been a stream from England to Norway,

whence the ballads spread to the rest of the Scandinavian world; that when envoys and ecclesiastics took home to Norway written romances in their baggage, the men of their crews carried home ballads in their heads. Here is a rich field of research.

The last chapter treats briefly Anglo-Scandinavian literary relations in modern times.

There is a very useful appendix, a "Hypothetical Chart of Foreign Romances in Scandinavia," containing some hundred and twenty numbers, following this, twenty-seven pages of bibliography, and a convenient index.

It is a stimulating book; the four hundred and thirty-two pages are replete with information and suggestion. No one can write a history of Old Scandinavian literature without taking this work into account. The first sentence of the preface is in part: "The following chapters constitute the present stage of a study of mediaeval relations between the literatures of the British and Scandinavian countries, begun at Harvard University in 1906. . . ." We await with interest the succeeding stages.

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"*Le Roman de la Rose*" par Guillaume de Lorris et Jean de Meun.

Publié d'après les Manuscrits par ERNEST LANGLOIS. Société des Anciens Textes français. Paris: Librairie de Firmin-Didot et Cie. Tome I<sup>er</sup>: Introduction, 1914. Pp. 350. Tome II<sup>e</sup>: Texte, Notes, 1920. Pp. 351.

The great impetus given to Romance studies by Gaston Paris, who died in March, 1903, after some thirty years of arduous labors, has not yet spent itself. One of his pupils, whose Doctor's dissertation on the *Origines et sources du "Roman de la Rose"* appeared as long ago as 1890, is now carrying forward the large and important project of a critical edition of the famous allegorical poem which was the delight of the later Old French period. Of *The Book of the Rose* at least three hundred manuscripts are known; of these, Langlois catalogued 215 and classified 116 in a preceding volume, which appeared in 1910 and which serves as basis for the text now in course of publication.<sup>1</sup>

The first volume of text contains 6,342 verses, not one-third of the whole; but it includes the whole of the known poetry of Guillaume of Lorris (the first 4,058 lines), whose remarkable initiative and charming poetic gift were to meet with such immense recognition. As late as the sixteenth century, attempts were still made to keep the poem within reach of readers: the

<sup>1</sup> *Les Manuscrits du "Roman de la Rose": description et classement.* "Travaux et Mémoires de l'Université de Lille," I, 7. Lille et Paris: H. Champion, 1910. Pp. 548. Rich in notices of unpublished manuscript material.

well-known Preface attributed to Clément Marot laments the incorrectness of the text and describes the effort made to restore it to "meilleur estat et plus expediente forme." In the high tide of the Renaissance, another poet and excellent judge in literary matters, Joachim du Bellay, would make almost a clean sweep of all that had been written in France before his day: "De tous les anciens poetes françois, quasi un seul [Du Bellay looks upon the poem as a unit] Guillaume de Lauris et Jean de Meun sont dignes d'estre leus, non tant pour ce qu'il y ait en eux beaucoup de choses qui se doivent imiter des modernes, comme pour y voir quasi comme une premiere image de la langue françoise . . . ." (*Defense et Illustration*, II, 2). Thus, in 1549, Du Bellay would save the Rose-romance from oblivion, both because of its noteworthy content and the signal merit of its style.<sup>1</sup>

"The Romance of the Rose" had therefore a great reputation in France as a *testo di lingua*, in addition to its attraction as a lovers' manual, a *Miroir aux Amoureux*,

Ou l'art d'Amours est toute enclose.

If Jean de Meun's cynical views of womankind were an offense to Christine de Pizan and to the preacher Gerson, the latter was constrained to admit the eminence of the work as a specimen of the *loquela gallica* at its best.<sup>2</sup> M. Langlois is therefore warranted in making a thorough study of the language of the two poets, basing his exposition upon a complete rhyme-list of the upward of twenty-two thousand verses. He has thus made accessible for the first time a vast amount of linguistic material of great interest, conveniently arranged.

The dialect of the two authors now appears as differing notably (I, 185); while Jean de Meun, as he states himself (Michel ed., II, 354), will select his words "selon le langage de France," his predecessor wrote a French impregnated with localisms of the upper valley of the Loire,<sup>3</sup> a fact which need in no way detract from the charm of passages like that in which Guillaume pictures a "carol," danced in company upon the fresh grass (vv. 743-71).

The third volume (continuation of the text) was announced as being in press last November by the Société des Anciens Textes français, whose

<sup>1</sup> This was also, no doubt, Chaucer's opinion: cf. *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXXIII (1918), 272-73. M. Langlois (I, 39) seems to have overlooked Deschamps' *Ballade*.

<sup>2</sup> Gerson's *Tractatus contra "Romantum de Rosa,"* a document of no little interest in the history of literary criticism, is printed in full by Ward, *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 1910 (also separately, as a University of Chicago dissertation, 1911); see pp. 38-55.

<sup>3</sup> It appears that the form of the city-name *Orlians* is itself a bit of local dialect (as, indeed, Meyer-Lübke had indicated; see his *Einführung*, 1901, § 204). From *Aurelianis* we should expect *Orliens*, which is usual in Old French, but in that neighborhood *moyen* is *mean*, and *rien reans* (I, 212, note).

recent resumption of activity, after five years' interruption, we are pleased to note.<sup>1</sup>

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*"The Song of Roland"* Done into English, in the Original Measure.

By CHARLES SCOTT-MONCRIEFF. With an Introduction by G. K. CHESTERTON and a Note on Technique by GEORGE SAINTSBURY. London: Chapman & Hall, Ltd., 1919. Pp. xxii+131.

*"La Chanson de Roland."* Traduction nouvelle d'après le Manuscrit d'Oxford. Par HENRI CHAMARD. Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1919. Pp. xi+ 224.

"The poets can be well translated only in verse" is the judgment of M. Chamard; this was also Captain Moncrieff's opinion, and both have adopted the traditional decasyllable. The author of the English translation revives assonance, in the effort to be very literal; in the French, rhyme is used, but with a free arrangement which results in a pleasing sense of ease and flow. Both are unusually successful in preserving the simplicity and vigor of the original. Mr. Saintsbury thinks the Moncrieff translation "is not merely in detail but in general effect, the most faithful version I have ever seen of the great Song."

But no translator, however gifted and trained in linguistics, can escape the hard condition that his work must have its basis in a pre-established text: no fountain rises higher than its source. Thus it is that a certain sense of shortcoming hangs over all these persistent efforts to present the most famous Old French epic to modern readers in their vernacular. Not long ago, in this *Journal* (XVI, 569-70), we remarked that it is surprising to find how little has been done of recent years to study the language (and we might have added, the versification) of the Oxford *Roland*. As Alfred Jeanroy said recently in a presidential address before the Société des Anciens Textes français: "Il est attristant de penser que l'on chercherait en vain dans notre collection la *Chanson de Roland*."<sup>2</sup> Moncrieff, to our regret, based his work upon the Petit de Julleville text of 1878, which fell by accident under

<sup>1</sup> Other works of medieval French literature announced by the Society as in press are: Guillaume de Machaut, Vol. III (Hoepffner); the short biographic epic *Doon de la Roche* (P. Meyer); the first volume of a *Recueil de Jeux-Partis* (Jeanroy and Långfors); the *Roman de la fille du Comte de Pontieu* (Brunel). We regret to note the continued postponement of the publication of the edition of the *Châtelain de Couci* which was almost completed in 1910 by J. E. Matzke (*Mod. Phil.*, VIII, 304; *Matzke Memorial Volume*, 1911, p. 11) and to which M. Bédier then undertook to add an introduction and a glossary. This last important work of our late co-Editor was on the eve of publication in 1913, but, to the regret of many, was then side-tracked to make way for M. Bédier's *Lai de l'Ombre*.

<sup>2</sup> *Bulletin de la Société*, 46<sup>e</sup> Année (1920), p. 35.

his hand; M. Chamard, who had enjoyed the counsels of M. Bédier, went directly to the Oxford manuscript as printed by Gröber.

If we select two famous lines for illustration:

1861 Tere de France, mult estes dulz païs  
    Oi desertét a tant rubostl exill

all the editors agree that "rubostl" is a scribal blunder for *rubeste* 'rude,' 'harsh'; but what, exactly, is "exill"? Let us observe the translators at work:

I. Butler (1904):

O France, fair land, today art thou made desolate by rude slaughter.

J. Geddes (1906):

Terre de France, ma douce patrie, rendue déserte aujourd'hui par si cruel malheur!

A. S. Way (1913):

O Land of France, an exceeding pleasant land art thou;  
    But of all these noble vassals thou sittest widowed now!

Moncrieff:

Douce land of France, o very precious clime,  
Laid desolate by such a sour exile!

Chamard:

Terre de France, ô mon très doux pays,  
De quels soutiens tu es veuve aujourd'hui!

Is it not plain that until we know the precise meaning of *eissil* we shall not have taken the first step toward a satisfactory French or English equivalent of these lines? Here is a pure problem of word-history: it seems possible that Latin *exiliare* and a verb represented by Norse *scilja* 'separate out,' 'cut off,' have, by chance, coincided in form in the OF *essillier*; but, fortunately, the expression *terres essillées* is frequent enough for us to be reasonably sure of its meaning: it means precisely what we mean by the current phrase "the devastated regions," and *eissil* signifies (aside from 'exile') 'ruin,' 'devastation,' 'ravage.' It is then not simply 'malheur,' nor 'slaughter,' nor yet 'widowhood,' while 'sour exile' conveys to the present writer no very clear idea of any kind.

The very next line:

Baron franceis, por mei vos vei morir

contains a difficulty of another sort. *Por* means here 'because of,' and not 'for the sake of,' as a score of passages in the poem make entirely clear. Messrs. Petit de Julleville, Tavernier, Chamard, and Moncrieff have all fallen into error here; while Gautier, Geddes ('par ma faute'), Miss Butler, A. S. Way ('of my doing'), have rendered the passage correctly. Nor is a mere *nuance* involved in this case: Roland, for the moment, is not eulogizing the loyalty of his subordinates; he is, exactly like Hector before Troy,

bitterly reproaching himself because "by trusting his own might, he undid the host." Is it not also plain that no one should attempt to give the public a modern version of a famous epic of the olden time without considerable preliminary study of the olden tongue?

In spite of such shortcomings, avoidable and unavoidable, both these new translations<sup>1</sup> will render good service. That of M. Chamard especially abounds in felicitous phrasing, and gives an excellent impression of the poem as a whole. But, to attain the desired directness and simplicity, there is also great gain in the regular use of assonance: witness a short passage, the concluding lines:

"Summon the hosts, Charlæs, of thine Empire,  
Go thou by force into the land of Bire,  
King Vivien thou'l succor there, at Imphe,  
In the city which pagans have besieged.  
The Christians there implore thee and beseech."  
"God!" said the King: "My life is hard indeed!"  
Tears filled his eyes, he tore his snowy beard.  
So ends the tale. . . .

Upon this close, Mr. Chesterton comments with some eloquence: "The poem ends as it were with a vision and vista of wars against the barbarians; and the vision is true. For that war is never ended, which defends the sanity of the world against all the stark anarchies and rending negations which rage against it forever."

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*Ronsard et l'Humanisme.* Par PIERRE DE NOLHAC. (227ème fascicule de la Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes). Paris: Edouard Champion, 1921. Pp. xi+365.

L'ouvrage fort érudit de M. de N. est divisé en quatre parties d'inégale longueur. La première et la plus longue est consacrée à "Ronsard l'Humaniste: l'éducation, le milieu, les lectures." La seconde étudie "Ronsard et les Humanistes de son temps." La troisième, intitulée "Les écrits latins de Ronsard" est très courte, car ce fut un des grands mérites de Ronsard de s'être habituellement abstenu de latiniser selon le goût du temps, mais elle contient un document inédit de grand intérêt: l'éloge latin où Ronsard a si fort malmené Pierre de Paschal, l'historiographe du Roi, celui même qu'avait signalé Laumonier dans les *Oeuvres Complètes* (VII, 138) comme récemment découvert par M. de Nolhac. Le MS s'en trouve à la Bibliothèque de Munich, parmi d'autres appartenant à la collection Jean de

<sup>1</sup> Another, in Italian, is announced: *La Canzone d'Orlando*, tradotta dal Conte G. L. Passerini. viii +198 pp. Città di Castello: Casa editrice Il Solco, 1922. M. Bédier's translation is expected from the press almost daily.

Morel, bien connue pour les pages inédites de Michel de l'Hospital et de J. du Bellay qu'elle a déjà fournies. La quatrième partie du livre, "Le Cicéronien de la Brigade, Ronsard et P. de Paschal" n'est guère qu'une biographie de Paschal, ce Toulousain auréolé par un voyage en Italie, qui avait promis d'immortaliser Ronsard débutant, dans une histoire littéraire de la France qu'il n'a jamais écrite.

La vraie valeur du livre ne réside pas tant dans l'étude de la culture gréco-latine de Ronsard, où M. de N. ne fait guère que suivre Laumonier, que dans l'excellente description du milieu humaniste international dans lequel a vécu Ronsard. Des lettres et documents manuscrits importants, trouvés dans des bibliothèques italiennes et françaises, ajoutent beaucoup au prix du livre. Les figures les plus intéressantes sur lesquelles M. de N. projette un jour nouveau sont Jean Brinon, Conseiller au Parlement de Paris, protecteur du groupe Ronsardien jusqu'à sa mort, Uytenhove, attachant humaniste de Gand, Denis Lambin, philologue et compagnon de Ronsard au Collège de Coqueret, Etienne Forcadel de Toulouse, et Jean de Morel, "gentilhomme ambrunois." Le dossier de chacun de ces humanistes, injustement oubliés, est d'ores et déjà assez complet pour que M. de N. invite de jeunes érudits à leur consacrer des monographies.

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*Ernest Renan.* By L. F. MOTT. New York: Appleton, 1921.

Pp. v+461.

This is an excellent volume and probably the fullest biography of Renan that has appeared. It is well balanced, moderate in tone, and thorough-going. The proper contemporary sources for Renan's career have been utilized; numerous quotations from the author and analyses of his works are a feature of the treatment. The history of his writings is throughout linked with his life, and two final chapters give detailed consideration to the *Origines du Christianisme* and the *Histoire du peuple d'Israël*. It can scarcely be expected that Professor Mott or any other literary critic should speak the last word concerning the scientific value of these monuments. At any rate, the charge of dilettantism is once more rebutted, and the "Renan legend," due largely to his disciples, should ultimately be dispelled.

Professor Mott rarely quotes the original French, and a certain obscurity or awkwardness occasionally appears in his translations. Examples of this may be found on pages 60, 111, 238, and 324. The terms *spiritualiste* and *spiritualisme* (pp. 75, 111) should not be literally translated. Also it is doubtful whether the term *la science* should always be rendered by its English equivalent—"scholarship" or "knowledge" often seems nearer the mark. The epigram attributed to La Rochefoucauld (p. 37) should be credited to Montesquieu. It can scarcely be said that the work of the

Hebrew prophets "embraces the entire religious endeavor of mankind" (p. 416). Repetitions of thought and phrasing are perhaps unavoidable, but they seem rather frequent. A general bibliography at the end would substantiate the effect of Professor Mott's careful footnotes and references. On the whole, the fascinating figure of Renan does not suffer from this adequate and sympathetic presentation.

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*Le opere di Dante: Testo critico della Società Dantesca Italiana.*  
Edited by M. BARBI, E. G. PARODI, F. PELLEGRINI, E. PISTELLI,  
P. RAJNA, E. ROSTAGNO, and G. VANELLI. With an Index by  
M. CASELLA. Florence: Bemporad, 1921. Pp. xxxii+980.

This volume is by far the most notable of the hundreds of Dante publications issued during the sexcentenary. It gives us our first critical texts of the *Commedia*, the *Rime*, the *Convivio*, and the *Monarchia*; and it gives us improved critical texts for all of the other works.

It is now some thirty years since the Società Dantesca undertook the preparation of a definitive edition of the complete works of Dante. Each of the several works was intrusted to the care of some one scholar, the intention being that each work should appear in a separate volume, containing the critical text and full critical apparatus. Two of these volumes have appeared: Rajna's edition of the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* in 1896, and Barbi's edition of the *Vita Nuova* in 1907. Both of these editions are masterpieces of the highest order of textual scholarship.

Meanwhile Vandelli has been at work on the *Commedia*, Barbi on the *Rime*, Parodi and Pellegrini on the *Convivio*, and Pistelli on the *Epistole*, *Ecloghe*, and the *Questio de Aqua et Terra*. No one of these several editions is as yet completely ready for press, but the text itself is in every case established with approximate finality.

The Society therefore decided to publish the complete series of critical texts in a single volume containing the texts alone, the critical apparatus (which in any case could not have been compressed into a single book), being reserved for the individual volumes to be published later. The general editorship of the co-operative volume was intrusted to Barbi.

The individual volumes will, of course, show the results of still further thought; but the text as we have it here is substantially the text of Dante as it will permanently remain. And this volume at once takes a position of unique authority as the standard text of Dante.

Barbi's Preface bears witness to the inexhaustible patience and the sound judgment which the editors have displayed in their several tasks—tasks of extraordinary difficulty in the cases of the *Commedia*, the *Rime*,

and the *Convivio*. The hope of establishing a genealogy of the hundreds of MSS of the *Commedia* has been abandoned—the process of revision and correction by reference to other MSS and by conjecture, begun before the time of the earliest MSS now extant, and continued throughout the fourteenth century, is so extensive that family lines cannot be traced to any serviceable degree. But Vandelli's brilliant and relentless study of the mass of individual and yet related problems has yielded results deserving of thorough confidence.

For the general look of the text the preceding critical editions of the *Vita Nuova* and the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* had prepared us. The Italian texts have, of course, a more antiquated color than in the current editions; but the shock that comes with the alteration of familiar lines is far more than compensated by the satisfaction of knowing that we have before us, in all probability, what Dante wrote. The most constant variations concern diphthongization, the doubling of consonants, the choice of vowels in initial unstressed syllables, and pronominal forms. Thus the tonic preterite forms of *porre* and its compounds are written *puosi*, etc.; *eterno* is always spelled with a double *t*; *canoscere* replaces *conoscere*; and *el* appears frequently as a third person subject. In the Latin works the medieval orthography is consistently restored.

In the case of the *Rime*, the new volume offers us not only the first critical text but the first critical definition of the *corpus* of Dante's lyrics. The labyrinthine intricacy of the process of this definition and the magnificent competence with which Barbi has mastered the problem have already been amply evidenced in his *Studi sul canzoniere di Dante*. The *Rime* here definitely assigned to Dante (in addition to the thirty-one incorporated in the *Vita Nuova* and the three incorporated in the *Convivio*) are fifty-four in number: eleven *canzoni*, two *sestine*, two *stanze*, five *ballate*, and thirty-four sonnets. How complete a revision of the traditional *corpus* this is may be seen from the fact that of the fifty-five lyrics in the corresponding section of the Oxford *Dante* twenty-one are not included in Barbi's collection of the authentic lyrics, while that collection includes twenty poems which were not included in the Oxford *Dante*.

The definition of this body of verse and the determination of the text are great achievements. The question of the arrangement of the several poems is of much less importance, to be sure; yet it has a very real importance, since it is intended that the order and numeration here established shall be accepted for all scholarly purposes hereafter.

Barbi divides the eighty-eight lyrics (including those of the *Vita Nuova* and the *Convivio*, which in this part of the volume are represented by the quotation of the first lines only) into seven Books as follows:

- I. Rime della *Vita Nuova*
- II. Altre rime del tempo della *Vita Nuova*
- III. Tenzone con Forese Donati

- IV. Rime allegoriche e dottrinali
- V. Altre rime d'amore e di corrispondenza
- VI. Rime per la donna pietra
- VII. Rime varie del tempo dell'esilio

The lyrics of the first Book are arranged, naturally, in the order in which they stand in the *Vita Nuova*, and those of Book III follow the order of the *tenzone*; but within the other books the basis of arrangement is not obvious. Poems of different forms are intermingled, and the order is not alphabetical.

This arrangement seems to me unnecessarily and undesirably complicated; and by its assigning of certain poems to certain groups it involves an assertion as to their biographical or allegorical purport which will not meet with general agreement, and cannot possibly be regarded as final in the same sense that the constitution of the *corpus* and the determination of the text are final.

Fifty-four lyrics (and thirty-four single lines) do not constitute a large body of verse: how much simpler and more convenient it would be to have them in a single group, and to have that group arranged either in alphabetical order, or by forms (as in the Oxford *Dante*), the poems of a single form being arranged in alphabetical order! As it is, the search for a given poem will in many cases involve either a haphazard fingering of a number of pages or reference to the alphabetical index to the *Canzoniere*—and this index is hidden among several other indexes (all admirable) in the back of the book.

The general principle of Barbi's classification is chronological: Books I and II represent the period of the *Vita Nuova*; Books III-V the later years of Dante's residence in Florence; and Book VII the years of his exile. Book VI is placed between Books V and VII because there is no agreement as to whether the Pietra poems were written before or during the exile.

But disagreement as to the time of composition is by no means limited to this case: it extends to many of the poems in Books II, IV, V, and VII. It is indeed hazardous in the extreme to imply that no one of the poems in Book II is later than the *Vita Nuova*; that no one of the poems in Book V is as early as the *Vita Nuova*; that no one of the poems in Books IV and V is as late as the exile; and that no one of the poems in Book VII precedes the exile.

The chronological differentiation results in the intimate grouping of poems which are in themselves very heterogeneous in content. An attempt to distinguish special groups according to content, within a given period, is evidenced by the isolation of the groups which constitute Books III, IV, and VI; but this principle is not consistently carried through, and there is nothing absolute in the grouping thus established—except in the case of Book III. Many scholars believe, for instance, that the first two *cancioni* of the *Convivio* are in origin purely love poems, into which Dante later read an allegorical meaning. The classification of these poems as allegorical is

then open to grave question. If Dante had finished the *Convivio*, would he not in all probability have given an allegorical interpretation to some of the *canzoni* now grouped in Books II, V, VI, and VII?

In view of these and similar uncertainties, I greatly hope that the question of the arrangement of the *Rime* may be reconsidered, and that a simple and objective order may be adopted for them in the definitive single-volume edition of the *Rime* and in reprints of the co-operative volume of texts. It is by no means too late to make such a change. It might occasion a little immediate confusion; but it would save an immense amount of inconvenience in generations to come.

Barbi's work is completed by the inclusion of the contemporary lyrics which are addressed to, or intimately concerned with, Dante; by the gathering in an appendix of certain *rime di dubbia attribuzione*; by a brief and able discussion of the authorship of these and other poems sometimes attributed to Dante; and by mention of the lost lyrics of Dante. I should like to see the line

“Traggemi de la mente Amor la stiva”—

the initial line of a *canzone* of which the rest is lost—given the honor of a place and a number of its own among the lyrics.

Pistelli rightly includes among the *Epistole* the three letters written by Dante for the Countess of Battifolle, and in a brief but excellent note discusses the lost letters. We know the opening words of two of these letters: one began with the words *Quomodo sedet sola civitas*; the other began with the words *Popule mee quid feci tibi*. We have also Leonardo Bruni's Italian version of a paragraph from a lost letter of Dante which is, in all probability, the second of the two letters just referred to. I should like to see these two initial phrases entered and numbered among the other letters. If these phrases and the initial line of the lost *canzone* should be treated as I have suggested, we should have a complete and consistent textual recognition of all the authentic surviving words of Dante. The quotation from Bruni, which is a scholar's version of words by Dante not now extant, might well be printed under the heading *Popule mee quid feci tibi*.

The *Fiore* and the *Detto d'amore*, now thought by many to be by Dante, are not included, but are published in a companion volume—a wise decision. The *Salmi penitenziali* and the *Professione di fede*, which remain in the Oxford *Dante*, are rightly ignored.

The volume is admirably printed and well made in all respects. Its value is increased by the three illustrations: a singularly beautiful photogravure of the Arundel *Dante*, a clear print of the Michelino panel, and a reproduction of the last lines of the comedy as they appear in Cod. Laur. XC, 125.

ERNEST H. WILKINS

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*La versificación irregular.* Por PEDRO HENRÍQUEZ UREÑA. Madrid: Centro de estudios históricos, 1920. Pp. viii+338.

The theory of *versificación irregular* is the most important matter which now concerns Hispanic philology. Until scholars agree on this point they will be at a loss as to the proper method of editing most poetic texts of the Middle Ages. If the principle of irregularity be admitted, then numerous texts edited according to the principle of syllable counting must be scrapped and the work done over again. Nearly the whole school of Spanish philologists and the younger Hispanists in other lands accept the new theory. The objectors are mainly those who have edited according to the old theory and may therefore be said to hold a vested interest in it.

We know that Caesar's soldiers chanted rhythmic verse at the very time that rhetors were teaching the quantitative system and cultured poets were practicing it. Similarly Henríquez Ureña finds that through the ages there have existed side by side in Spain three distinct metrical systems: (1) The learned and sophisticated system of syllable counting. (2) A popular rhythmic system, not dissimilar to that in vogue in Germanic languages. (The *verso de arte mayor* is a learned adaptation of this.) (3) A metric meter, devoid alike of syllable counting and regularly recurring stress.

One who has digested the evidence presented in Henríquez Ureña's previously published *Antología de la versificación irregular* and the additional matter in the present volume can scarcely doubt that all three of these systems existed. Irregular meter is to be found sporadically in the works of the great writers of the Renaissance and is apt to crop out in the latest zarzuela. Why not then also in the less cultured Middle Ages? It is here that the debate begins. In spite of the numerous examples cited from this period also, there are those who would explain away everything on the theory of scribal garbling. When the question was debated à propos of the meter of the *Cid*, these scholars demanded another example of like irregularity. It was forthcoming when Menéndez Pidal published his *Roncesvalles* fragment; but not every doubting Thomas was satisfied. So the matter stands.

Henríquez Ureña appears to be least sound when he goes to the other extreme and denies that scribal garbling played an important rôle in such works as *El libro de Apolonio* and the *Poema de Fernán González*. At least he explains most departures from the norm by stating that the authors were unsuccessful in freeing themselves wholly from the popular measures to which they were accustomed. But these writers were using a syllable-counting measure. It was simple and easy to write. While the lines showing an incorrect count are numerous, they are not so numerous that garbling may not account for the imperfect state of the MSS. Most lines may be restored by simple emendations. There is here no such astonishing irregularity as in the *Cid*.

Henríquez Ureña contributes little to the discussion of the epic meters. This had already been thoroughly debated. But, by making it plain that irregular meter is far more prevalent than had been supposed, he renders the theories of Milá and Menéndez Pidal more plausible.

In connection with the theory of irregular versification, it might repay some scholar to make a metrical study of certain of the Franco-Veneto bilingual epics and of such metric anomalies as the Italian Romance, *Buovo d'Antona*. The French *jongleur* touring northern Italy cared for little else than to impart his story to a foreign audience. He clipped and mangled Italian words to attain an acute assonance contrary to the genius of the Italian speech. Form went by the board. Apparently the meter also suffered. Now there may have existed also a Franco-Hispanic bilingual epic in the region of the Pyrenees. There is no proof of its existence, but nothing would be more likely. And would not such an epic have furthered metrical irregularity in Spain?

GEORGE T. NORTHUP

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*Un aspecto en la elaboración de "El Quijote." Discurso leído en el Ateneo de Madrid.* Por RAMÓN MENÉNDEZ PIDAL. Madrid: 1920. Pp. 54.

In this important contribution Menéndez Pidal proposes a thesis, which, if accepted, will alter radically our ideas about the genesis of *Don Quijote*. The intimate connection between the chapters of the novel describing the "first sally" and the *Entremés de los romances* has long been recognized. Adolfo de Castro held the latter to be one of the lost works of Cervantes. The Cotarelos, father and son, maintain that it was written subsequent to *Don Quijote*, of which it is alleged to be a parody. Menéndez Pidal thinks that, though Cervantes did not write it, the farce in question was written prior to the novel, was Cervantes' chief source of inspiration for the opening chapters, that story and characters improve and the use made of ballads changes completely when the author of *Don Quijote* gets beyond his source and is left to his own devices. This startling theory is argued with plausibility, but not completely proved.

Menéndez Pidal finds that all the thirty-one ballads cited in the farce appear in the *Flor de varios y nuevos romances*, Valencia, 1591, and that no other collection contains all the thirty-one. The deluded peasant-hero starts out to fight the English. Now expeditions against the English were fitted out in 1588, 1596, 1597, 1601, and 1602. The first date is too early. He concludes that the farce was written between 1596 and 1602, but inclines to the date 1597. De Castro had previously shown that the farce alludes to Elizabeth and Drake as living. The latter died in 1595, and the news of

his death must have reached Spain within a year or two. But all this dates the time of the action rather than that of the writing of the play. Menéndez Pidal is right in saying that farces usually referred to events of the moment. But the English were the Spaniards' dearest enemies for many years. The memory of the Invincible Armada rankled. Talk of hostilities may have continued even after the accession of James I in 1603 improved the diplomatic outlook. James soon showed a tendency to persecute his catholic subjects. It is always possible for a writer to place his time of action in the past, and that being so, it cannot be said that Menéndez Pidal has proved his case beyond dispute. The whole matter is bound up with the question as to when Cervantes began the writing of the first chapters and how much of his work was known to others before it was printed. Into these complicated details he does not go.

There remains the hypothesis that Cervantes himself wrote the *Entremés de los romances*. One is tempted to reject without more ado the theories of a scholar so discredited as Adolfo de Castro. But in this case his views are worthy of consideration. It is well known that when Cervantes had a good idea he often used it two or three times in various works. He was a writer of farces, and if we find in a farce ideas which he has used elsewhere, there is a possibility if not a presumption that he wrote the farce in question. Style shows little. Cervantes employed several styles and often produced work below his average. As the *Entremés de los romances* is little more than a stringing together of ballad snatches, there is slight opportunity for individual style to manifest itself. If *El viejo celoso* had come down to us without name of author, few would be willing to attribute it to the writer of *El celoso extremeño*. As a rule Cervantes was original in his plots. Few sources for his works have been indicated, and it has never been shown that he plagiarized contemporary Spanish novelists and dramatists. The evident groping and uncertainty of the early part of *Don Quijote* does not end with the conclusion of the first sally, but continues far into the book. It is true that after the first return home the Don does not again identify himself with ballad characters, but having used the device once, Cervantes would bore his readers by again employing it. It is easier to accept the view that Cervantes wrote the *entremés* than to believe that he followed so slavishly the invention of another.

But this somewhat questional thesis of Menéndez Pidal is perhaps of less value than the brilliant criticism which accompanies it. We are told much of Cervantes' attitude toward the ballad, what elements in his great work can be traced back to epic inspiration, what others are due to the romances. *Don Quijote* is treated not as the burlesque of a romance of chivalry, but as a romance of chivalry itself, the last and most perfect of a series. These matters and many others are treated with lucidity and charm. Once again Menéndez Pidal has shown the wonderful symmetry of his intellectual development. He is at the same time scientific and aesthetic, the philologer and the man of letters.

GEORGE T. NORTHUP

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

*"Des Minnesangs Frühling" mit Bezeichnung der Abweichungen von Lachmann und Haupt und unter Beifügung ihrer Anmerkungen neu bearbeitet.* Von FRIEDRICH VOGT. Dritte Ausgabe. Leipzig: Hirzel, 1920. Pp. xvi+468.

Das rasche Aufeinanderfolgen der neuen Ausgaben von Vogts Bearbeitung des altbewährten Werkes ist ein erfreuliches Zeugnis für die immer zunehmende Zahl der Freunde, welche es in dem neuen Gewande sich erworben hat. Einer der eigentlichen Meilensteine in der Geschichte der altdeutschen Studien, hat des *Minnesangs Frühling* in seiner ursprünglichen Gestalt schon zwei Generationen als ein Quelle fast unerschöpflichen Wissens und der vielseitigen Anregung gedient. Dem kritischen Scharfsblick Lachmanns war wenig entgangen, und in den Anmerkungen finden sich manche von Haupts feinsten Beobachtungen zerstreut. Aber mit der Zeit hatten sich die Ansichten über mehrere der Hauptfragen geändert und an dem alten Stamm war eine fast unübersehbare Literatur über alle mögliche, den *Minnesang* betreffende Fragen, heraufgewachsen. Wenn das handschriftliche Material auch keine wesentliche Bereicherung erfahren hat, so haben doch unsere Ansichten von der Lebenszeit und den Lebensverhältnissen der alten Dichter sich ziemlich anders gestaltet. Hinzu tritt auch die in letzter Zeit lebhaft erörterte Frage speziell nach der Quelle der altdeutschen Lyrik, daneben durchaus nicht in zweiter Linie die Forschungen über den Ursprung des mittelalterlichen Minnesangs überhaupt. Aber was die von Lachmann-Haupt kritisch hergestellten Texte betrifft, so war man genötigt, bei neuer metrischen Auffassung, den bisher akzeptierten Text mit einem Fragezeichen zu versehen. Oder es handelte sich andererseits um eines Dichters Sprach- oder Reimgebrauch, oder um die Verständlichkeit und eigentliche Bedeutung einer bestimmten Stelle oder Redensart. Selten haben die Gelehrten sich über solche Streitfragen einigen können, und es schien somit eine gänzliche Umarbeitung des Werkes, welche die verschiedenen Theorien und Meinungen verzeichnete, eine unumgängliche Notwendigkeit geworden. Dass Vogt die schwierige Aufgabe befriedigend gelöst habe, indem er die Bemerkungen der alten Herausgeber aufgenommen und leicht kenntlich gemacht hat, wird wohl von keiner Seite bestritten.

Aus den Besprechungen der beiden früheren Auflagen, namentlich der der ersten durch Rosenhagen in der *Germanisch-Romanischen Monatschrift*, 1912, setze ich die allgemeine Anlage des Werkes als bekannt voraus und gehe deshalb nicht näher darauf ein.

Die seit dem Erscheinen der zweiten Ausgabe hinzugekommene Literatur hat Vogt selbstverständlich gewissenhaft verzeichnet, wenn er auch an mehreren Stellen sich genötigt sah, seine abweichende Meinung deutlicher darzulegen und weiter auszuführen, was gewöhnlich dahin ausläuft, die ursprüngliche Textgestalt zu wahren unter möglichster Schonung der Überlieferung. Denn er wird von dem gewiss richtigen Grundsatz geleitet, den

alten Texten keine Gewalt anzutun, und er verhält sich meistens ablehnend gegen eine in neuester Zeit auftretende überaus kühne Konjunkturalkritik, wie sie namentlich von von Kraus an den unter Reinmars Namen überlieferten Strophen geübt worden ist. Hätte Vogt ferner desselben Gelehrten Textänderungen in den Strophen Heinrichs von Morungen alle aufnehmen wollen, so würden die Dichtungen dieses Autors ein wesentlich anderes, kaum erkennbares Bild gezeigt haben.

Die eigentlich schwierigen Stellen bleiben noch immer schwierig, und obgleich manches hie und da leicht zu bessern wäre, so fragt sichs doch, inwieweit Textemendationen berechtigt sind, oder bei verschiedenen Möglichkeiten der Heilung, welche den Vorzug verdient. Ich erinnere beispielsweise an 127, 35 oder an 4, 2. Bei dem Stand der Überlieferung wird wohl aber manches immer fraglich bleiben.

Der von verschiedener Seite befürworteten Aufnahme Ottos von Botenlauben und anderer jüngerer Zeitgenossen Walthers ist Vogt gewiss mit aller Berechtigung nicht nachgegangen, denn es wäre nicht leicht gewesen hier eine Grenzlinie zu ziehen. Inzwischen ist auch eine verdienstliche Ausgabe des Hiltbolt von Schwangau unter Vogts Leitung 1913 als 44. Heft der *Germanistischen Abhandlungen* erschienen, und es steht zu hoffen, dass wir andere Einzelausgaben der wichtigsten Dichter dieses Zeitraumes bald begrüssen dürfen.

Seit dem Erscheinen dieser neuen Ausgabe ist einiges wichtige hinzugekommen. Ich erwähne vor allem die bedeutenden Ausführungen Singers im 44. Band der *Beiträge*, die das Ziel verfolgen die mittelhochdeutsche Lyrik in weitestem Umfang aus dem Romanischen abzuleiten. Dagegen wendet sich Vogt in einem Aufsatz "Zum Kürenberger" im 45. Band derselben Zeitschrift. Nicht übersehen darf man ferner Jellineks ebendaselbst veröffentlichte "Bemerkungen zu Hartmanns Lyrik," welche gegen Neumann Stellung nehmen, sowie Vogts Artikel "Strophenbildung bei Reinmar," *Zeitschr. f. d. Altertum*, 58, und dessen lange Besprechung von von Kraus' Akademie-Abhandlungen über denselben Dichter, *Anz. f. d. Altertum*, 1921.

Auf einzelne Fragen der Textkritik, die sich hie und da aufdrängen, lasse ich mich jetzt nicht ein, behalte mir aber vor bei einer anderen Gelegenheit wieder darauf zurückzukommen. Nur möchte ich noch erwähnen, dass der Name *roche bise* (76, 25), für welchen Singer einige Belege nachgewiesen hat, auch in dem *Prosatristan* einmal vorkommt, Löseth, S. 266, Anm. 2.

Das einzige, was ich zu rügen hätte, ist, dass das Werk immer noch eines Registers entbeht, wodurch die bequeme Benutzung sehr erleichtert wäre. Hoffentlich wird auch dieser Mangel bei einer künftigen Auflage gehoben werden können.

JOHN L. CAMPION

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

"Wolframs Stil und der Stoff des *Parzival*." Von S. SINGER.  
*Sitzungsberichte der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*,  
180. Band, 4. Abh. Wien: Hölder, 1916. Pp. 127.

Vorliegende Abhandlung des sehr verdienten Germanisten verfolgt den Zweck, die Möglichkeit einer von seinem Lehrer Heinzel angenommenen gemeinsamen Quelle Crestien-Kyot durch Heranziehung einer Menge neuer Beweismittel zu unterstützen. Während Heinzel bei seinem Rekonstruktionsversuche etwas zu weit gegangen ist, scheint es Singer "möglich zu sein, durch ganz konsequente Durchführung seiner Methode den für jeden Einsichtigen unwiderleglichen Beweis zu erbringen, dass Wolfram nicht Crestiens erhaltenes Gedicht von Perceval (*Conte del graal*), sondern ein anderes verlorenes als Vorlage gedient habe, an das er sich viel enger geschlossen hat, als irgend jemand bisher anzunehmen wagte."

Die Arbeit zerfällt in zwei Teile. In dem ersten kürzeren Abschnitt bringt der Verfasser, ausgerüstet mit einer erstaunenswerten Belesenheit, eine Fülle von Belegstellen aus der altfranzösischen und provenzalischen Literatur zusammen, die zeigen sollen, dass vieles, welches bisher als Wolframs besondere Stileigentümlichkeiten gegolten hat, nur aus romanischem Einfluss zu erklären ist. Um nur einen Hauptpunkt zu erwähnen, so ist die ganze Anlage der Eingangsverse des *Parzival* schon nach romantischem Muster und hat sich ohne Zweifel so in der Quelle vorgefunden. Die Wolfram bereits von den Zeitgenossen vorgeworfene Dunkelheit findet sich bei einigen der ältesten Troubadours völlig ausgeprägt, und bei Marcabru treffen wir schon das bei Wolfram vorkommende Gleichnis von der Elster, hier allerdings auf die Liebhaber angewandt. Zu einer Anzahl der Bilder und Vergleiche, die sonst nicht oder nur vereinzelt in der deutschen Literatur der Zeit zu belegen sind, hat Singer viele Parallelen aus dem Romanischen angeführt. Und wenn auch zugegeben wird, dass einiges aus der geistlichen Literatur oder dem gemeinsamen Formelschatz des Mittelalters zu erklären sein wird, so bleibt doch ein grosser Teil übrig, der in dem ganzen Zusammenhang betrachtet, von unzweifelhafter Bedeutung ist. Wenn Wolfram 409, 26 eine schlanke Dame mit einem Hasen am Bratspieß vergleicht, so mutet uns das doch etwas geschmacklos an, aber demselben Bild begegnen wir bei Bertran de Born (Stimming 28): *sembla conil de l'espina*, "sie scheint ein Kaninchen ihrem Rückgrat nach."

Im zweiten Teil, S. 47 ff., werden die sechszehn Bücher des *Parzival* der Reihe nach behandelt. Es werden verschiedene Motive und Episoden, welche bei Crestien nicht vorkommen, eingehend besprochen, wodurch überzeugend gezeigt wird, dass die Abweichungen nicht als Missverständnisse von dessen Dichtung zu erklären sind, sondern nur durch Annahme eines zweiten mit ihm nicht identischen Textes begreiflich werden.

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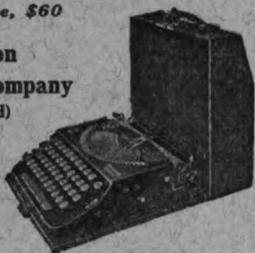
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